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The Beginnings of the Ottoman Empire

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In Memoriam
MARK WHITTOW
Who would have enjoyed discussing all this

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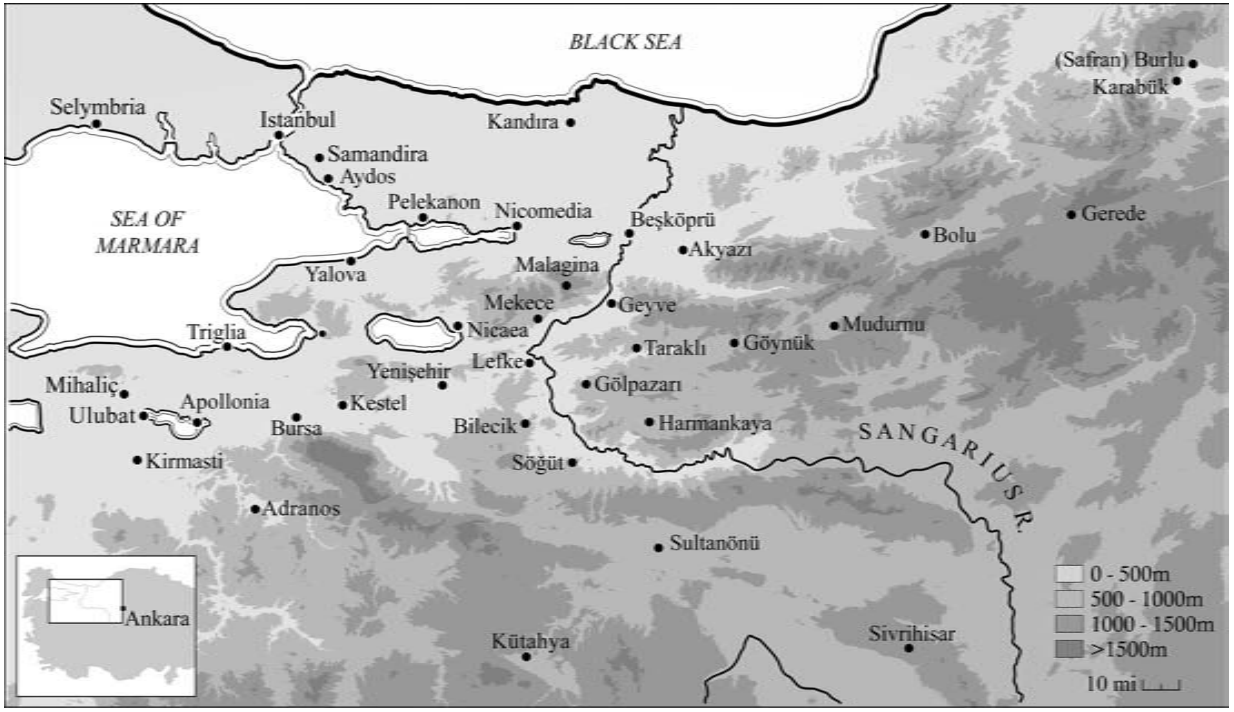

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Introduction

One of the great historical problems at the dawn of the modern age is the emergence of the Ottomans and consequent collapse of the Byzantine empire. At first sight, it seems astonishing that an insignificant Turkish group in a remote corner of Bithynia on the borders of Byzantium should rise so rapidly from obscurity to domination. When Osman, the eponymous founder of a mighty future empire, was born, his people were a tribe still wandering, or perhaps recently settled, in the land which was to give birth to their state. A century later, his descendants had crossed into Europe, soon to overwhelm all their enemies, and on the threshold of becoming a world power. Close investigation does little to resolve the problem. It has fascinated scholars in modern times almost as much as the Fall of the Roman Empire, and with no more satisfactory results: many theories of varying plausibility have been constructed, but the mystery remains.[1] This chapter has not the ambition to lift the veil which surrounds the origins of the Ottomans, but merely to suggest a way of approaching the problem, and present some material rarely considered in this context.

The earliest Ottoman history depends on Turkish chronicles written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with scattered information derived from earlier Byzantine and Arab writers. The oldest source is the Greek historian George Pachymeres (1242–c.1310), a contemporary of Osman who first mentions him in 1302, and concludes his narrative in 1308. He is followed by Nicephorus Gregoras (1295–1359) and John VI Cantacuzene (1292–1383), who were active in the reigns of Orhan and Murat I. The Arabic accounts of al-Umari and the observant traveler Ibn Battuta describe a situation in the early years of Orhan, around 1333–1335.[2] They are contemporary with the oldest epigraphical, numismatic, and archaeological evidence: the first dated Ottoman inscription is of 1333, the earliest coins from the beginning of the reign of Orhan, the first buildings or traces of them from the years following the conquest of Nicaea in 1331. These are the contemporary sources, adequate enough, perhaps, for the reign of Orhan (c. 1320–1360), but revealing little of the crucial half-century previous when

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the state had its origins and first grew under the leadership of Osman (1281–c.1320).[3] The Arabic sources present a vivid image of their own time, but don't look back, while the Greeks treat the Ottomans only after they came in contact with the Byzantines; they tell, and no doubt knew, nothing of their earlier history or of events in other parts of their domain.

If these were the only sources, little would be known of the reign of Osman, the beginning of Ottoman history (I shall refer to earlier events as "Ottoman prehistory").[4] Yet much is recounted, and in considerable detail, by later Turkish narratives that have provided the base for reconstructing this period.[5] The most important of these are Aşıkpaşazade, who wrote around 1485, the anonymous chronicles edited by Giese compiled about the same time, and the history of Neşri written about 1490 and largely based upon the other two.[6] Together, they provide what appears to be a full account of the early conquests and expansion of the Ottomans, with a wealth of specific places where the events are supposed to have happened. Such material may be of considerable value, if it represents genuine traditions, or worthless, if all fabricated later to fill an uncomfortable void. The early history of Rome might provide an ominous parallel, in which a highly detailed and dramatic account of three centuries of "history" is to be considered the unreliable wishful thinking of later writers anxious to provide a suitable beginning for a great power, and at best a quarry from which some genuine history or traditions may be extracted. If this is the case here, most of the later narratives will have to be rejected, the bare skeleton provided by contemporary sources retained, and the mystery deepened.

It is my aim here to test the accounts of the earliest Ottoman history by seeking out the places which they mention to determine not only whether they existed but also whether they are appropriate for the period and events described. The first is easy enough: the existence of most of the sites has not been doubted, and a large-scale map will reveal them; for sites that have disappeared or changed their name, older maps, or accounts of travelers may profitably be consulted. Yet such identifications might have little meaning: events could have been retrospectively situated in places which were later important, or a schoolmaster's fancy could have associated present remains with places or buildings mentioned in the chronicles. Here, too, the dawn of Rome provides many discouragingly instructive parallels: the Alban Mount, well-marked on maps, need not have been the home of the ancestors of Romulus any more than the Tarpeian rock be taken to authenticate the legend of Tarpeia. More complicated, and potentially more rewarding, is the search for sites which may be considered appropriate to

the period. To some extent, this may be done by comparing the sources, and considering places which also appear in contemporary independent writers (in these cases, Greek and Arabic) as authentic. Yet these are a small proportion of the total; for the rest, it is necessary to consider the material record of standing or ruined structures.

Monuments of the first sultans, whether mosques, baths, caravansarays, castles, or anything else which may be attributed to the period have been carefully studied in an admirable and indispensable work to which there is surely nothing to add.[7] The studies of E. Hakki Ayverdi make it easy to draw up a list of buildings from the period, but this, too, has its pitfalls, for as the author clearly shows, it is easy to state but difficult to prove that a structure owes its origin to Osman or Orhan. Local tradition is as likely to obscure as to aid identification; it has a natural tendency to attribute venerable buildings or ruins to the first sultans (if they are Islamic; otherwise, Nimrod, Solomon, the Genoese, or the Jews might have been the builders). It is therefore necessary to use the care of Ayverdi and other students of Ottoman architecture in dealing with early monuments.

The warriors of Osman conquered many places from the Infidel, in this case the Byzantine emperor or his subordinates. By definition, therefore, most sites of early Ottoman history will be those of the last ages of Byzantium, and as likely to have Byzantine as Ottoman monuments. Since many seem to have been taken by siege or stratagem, fortifications might be expected, solidly built monuments more able than most to withstand the ravages of time and man. There is thus another category of evidence which may be brought into account; the Byzantine monuments, especially castles, which may be dated to the latest period of their rule. Although Byzantine churches are well-known and can be dated with some accuracy, the castles have been little studied, but comparative studies have produced a typology that allows many structures of the thirteenth century to be identified.[8] In the area to be considered, Nicaea alone preserves churches or their remains; for the rest, the fortifications will be of some importance. The present investigation, therefore, will attempt to integrate the physical and the written records of earliest Ottoman history and thus to test the accuracy of the sources on which it has depended.

Such a study is only one step. Once the sites have been identified, recorded, and put on the historical map, it is possible to consider their significance, and with it the role of geography—of the physical environment—in the early history and conquests of the Ottomans. Was it suitable, for example, for the development of a centralized state, or the wanderings of

nomadic tribes, or something else? Most writers have paid least lip service to geography, often with quite misleading results. Did the Ottomans, for example, settle on a "high and rather barren tableland," or on the "grasslands" of the frontier, or were they in a broken country with considerable "vertical range between summer and winter pastures?" The inaccuracy of the first two could be shown by a good relief map; the other definition needs to be checked on the spot.[9] If this study has any merit, it will be because it is based on autopsy: I have visited the great majority of the sites mentioned in the chronicles, recorded the remains in them, and noted their relation to each other and to the local environment.

Visiting and identifying sites may help to accomplish the first aim of testing the sources, but the consideration of historical geography involves another real or potential pitfall. Although the mountains and rivers which form its most powerful component will be the same, many aspects of the environment now visible may be quite different from those which confronted Osman: forests have been cut down, swamps drained, agriculture, and with it population increased. Plainly, there is no way to reconstruct the Bithynian scene in the thirteenth century with the resources available. If one day studies of lake cores and sediments, of micro-fauna and flora, have been made, it might be possible to speak with some precision.[10] For the moment, it is necessary to be aware of the problem, and to attempt to reach as far into the past as possible, relying on old as well as new observations. For this, I have made extensive use of early travelers, a body which progressively increases from a trickle in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to an almost unmanageable stream in the nineteenth.[11] Through their eyes, a more accurate image of the past environment may be obtained which, if not that of Osman's time, at least is far closer to it than the present somewhat tamed image which the country presents.

Whatever the success of this effort, the travelers are a delight to read and the country to visit. In the words of John Macdonald Kinneir, Captain in the service of the honorable East India Company and political agent at the Durbar of his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, who observed this country in 1818: "Bithynia is now included in the great province of Anatolia and governed by a pasha of three tails who resides at Nicomedia; it is a romantic and beautiful country, intersected by lofty mountains and fertile valleys; rich in fruits and wine and abounding in forests and fine trees."[12] The pasha of three tails and most of the forests are long since gone, but the country remains to provide pleasure and knowledge.

In treating this material, I have used a chronological arrangement, with occasional digressions, mainly following the narrative of Aşıkpaşazade, the most detailed of the Turkish chroniclers, and supplementing it with additional information to be found in other sources. I have attempted to identify and describe the places mentioned, using my own observations and those of my predecessors, and to discuss whatever appropriate remains they may contain. Consideration of some places give rise to problems of a more general kind; these will be treated individually as they occur, and correlated at the end in a general discussion of the geography and its significance. I shall begin at the beginning and survey the century from 1261, when the Byzantine empire was restored in Constantinople, when the Mongols consolidated their hold on Asia Minor and when the first tribal Turcoman states were formed, and continue until 1354, when the Ottoman crossing into Europe introduced a very different period.

Ideally, a study like this should produce a life-and-times of Osman and Orhan or a coherent narrative of the rise of the Ottomans, but the sources don't permit any such comprehensive treatment. Instead, this work will consist of a series of related chapters aiming to provide the evidence for the period it treats, with the aim of seeing what the physical environment and the historical sources can reveal about the first two Ottomans. Each chapter can be read independently of the others, though this necessarily involves a certain amount of repetition, where the same material is presented from different viewpoints. The survey of the Homeland will be followed by the Byzantine view of their own *decline*, then by whatever information can be derived from other kinds of sources—coins, inscriptions, buildings, and documents. Two chapters will then attempt some synthesis by considering Osman in the broader context of the contemporary emirates of western Asia Minor and the dominant Seljuks and Mongols; and a survey of western Asia Minor in a period that sees a rare abundance of sources, the 1330s. In each case, the sources will appear as a kind of raw material, not yet capable of producing a pleasing narrative. The result, I hope, will be to see the earliest Ottomans from a different point of view, without trying to impose a theoretical framework on the reader.

The project, when first conceived, seemed original, yet I noted that an earlier traveler of superb acuity, Andreas David Mordtmann, suggested that such an investigation might be of use. On his way from Eskişehir to Söğüt in 1858, he wrote: "All these and the following places as far as the sea played a major role in the history of the first Ottoman sultan, Osman I; and thus

deserve a more thorough investigation by an historian; until now, however, no one has given himself this trouble."[13] The problems which faced Mordtmann and a host of others have largely disappeared: paved roads prevent the traveler from sinking in mud and speed his journey; modern accommodation, even in remote places, spares him the inedible food and swarms of vermin; and present security has long since eliminated the bandits who struck fear into most. Yet, with some notable exceptions, and those for quite specific or different purposes, scholars who could most profit from knowing this geography as a potential key for understanding the history seem not to have ventured far into Bithynia. This work, therefore, may represent a step toward the study which Mordtmann recommended.

In 1927, Franz Taeschner made a beginning with a one-week excursion by automobile into the homeland, investigating Yenişehir, Iznik, Eskişehir, and Kütahya along with some lesser sites and reported on their Ottoman remains. This pioneering work, which made use of the Ottoman sources, paid especial attention to the network of roads.[14] Otherwise, the works cited above show little if any trace of autopsy. The architectural historians, notably E. Hakki Ayverdi, are an exception; so, to some extent is Prof. Inalcik who visited the region and inspired an excavation at a site important for this subject, Karacahisar.

In 2003 appeared a monumental work of French scholarship, *La Bithynie au moyen age,* edited by Bernard Geyer and Jacques Lefort. Its nineteen collaborators covered every aspect of the subject from pollen to fortifications, with detailed attention to the geography and the physical remains, from the seventh century until well into the Ottoman period. There would seem to be little to add to this massive learning. Yet, there is still room for the present work, for *La Bithynie* does not cover the Ottoman homeland south of Bursa and Nicaea and is not primarily directed toward the early Ottomans or the historical problems considered here.

This work has a long history. It was undertaken out of curiosity in 1983, in indirect connection with the survey of medieval castles in Anatolia which I was directing for the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara. Rudi Lindner's works and conversations provided inspiration and encouragement, as did discussions with Prof. Halil Inalcık, who took much interest in an early stage of the project. Exploration was greatly facilitated by generous friends who allowed themselves and their cars to be pressed into service in remote and unknown regions: my special thanks go to Mr. and Mrs. Rab Shiell, Consul-general and Mrs. Timothy Gee, and to Stephen Mitchell and David Barchard for their ever perceptive and helpful comments. The first

stage of the work (which appears here as the long introductory chapter on the Homeland) was completed in the tranquility of All Souls College, Oxford, where I spent the academic year 1983/84. It benefited from comments of Mme Irene Beldiceanu and especially from the meticulous attention of the late professor Victor Ménage whose detailed suggestions and corrections saved me from many mis-statements and errors. Then the incomplete project was set aside and not revived for thirty years. I have brought the references up to date as far as possible, but left the descriptions of sites as they were in 1983, before the drastic transformations of the countryside in recent decades.

In 2015, an invitation to address a conference in Nicaea provided the occasion to return to this project, which insensibly turned from a chapter into a book where the original material could be put into a broader context. For that, I owe thanks to Kutlu Akalın who organized the meeting and to my indefatigable and enormously helpful driver Çağla Altıntaş. I am grateful to David Mitten and Laura Johnson for help with practical matters and to Julian Baker and Lutz Ilisch for answering numismatic questions. My thanks to all these friends and colleagues and especially to the villagers of the Homeland who willingly shared their knowledge of the antiquities in their midst.

Cambridge MA and Oxford
August 2019

Notes

1. The main comprehensive treatments of the rise of the Ottomans, which present variety of approaches, are Gibbons 1916, Langer and Blake 1924, Köprülü 1935, Wittek 1932, Arnakis 1947, Lindner 1983 and 2007, Kafadar 1995, and Lowry 2003. They will be discussed in the concluding chapter, p. 236f.
2. Al-Umari reproduces detailed information from Haydar al-Uryan of Sivrihisar and Balban the Genoese; see p. 191f.
3. Most of the dates presented here from the Turkish tradition are arbitrary; PRINT see p. 90 n. 47.
4. Taeschner 1928, 86, calls the period before the conquest of Bursa "die Urgeschiche des osmanschen Turkentums."
5. The sources are discussed in all the works cited by Lowry 2003; for more specific criticism, see Menage 1964.
6. PRINT: See below, p. 9.
7. I refer to the elegant and comprehensive works of Ayverdi 1966, 1972, and 1974. See also Kuran 1968 for convenient summaries, and Kiziltan 1958.

8. See Foss and Winfield 1986, 150–9 and, for this region, Grelois 2003, 209–24.
9. The quotes are respectively from Langer and Blake 1932, 494, Pitcher 1972, 36 and Lindner 1983, 30.
10. An important beginning has now been made in the chapters on environmental history in Geyer-Lefort 2003, 153–205.
11. For the travelers, see Saint-Martin 1846, III.710–808 and for an admirably comprehensive study of those through 1600, see Yerasimos 1991.
12. Kinneir 1818, 257; the pasha actually resided at Kütahya.
13. Mordtmann 1925, 549.
14. Taeschner 1928, 86–104.

1
The Homeland of the Ottomans

The Sources

The history of the earliest Ottomans is based on three main sources: a group of anonymous chronicles, the comprehensive narrative of Aşıkpaşazade, and the history of Neşri. All are products of the late fifteenth century but incorporate earlier material. Aşıkpaşazade (henceforth APZ) draws on the Anonymous as well as the lost work of Yahşı Fakih, the son of Orhan's imam, whose text APZ used when he had fallen ill and was staying with the *fakih* at Geyve on the Sangarius in 1413. Nothing further is known of Yahşı, but Aşıkpaşazade was a well-known dervish whose experience involved military campaigns in Anatolia and Thrace and who reflected the views of frontier warriors. He apparently wrote his chronicle in the context of the sultan Bayezid II's request for a history of the Ottoman dynasty and its achievements. He finished his chronicle in 1484, but it contains the much earlier material of Yahşı Faqih whose own work ended in 1389 or 1402.

The historian Neşri, who belonged to a more highly educated milieu, produced in the late fifteenth century a wide-ranging work that drew on both the Anonymous and APZ. The story is much more complicated than this, with numerous other works associated or derived from these three.[1] In addition, two poets contribute to the subject. Notable among them is Ahmedi (c.1335–1412), the greatest poet of his age. His 8000-verse epic, written in the early fifteenth century, devotes 337 verses to the Ottomans, and only six of them to Osman.[2] Enveri finished his verse chronicle in 1465. It deals with the career of Umur of Aydin (1309–1348), a contemporary of Osman who, however, never appears in the story.[3] Virtually nothing is known of these authors' lives.

The account of APZ will provide the framework for the present discussion since it is comprehensive and available in facsimile text, modern Turkish, and German.[4] The Anonymous and Neşri texts will be drawn upon for divergent material; the three sources together will normally be presented as the Tradition.

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Ottoman Prehistory (APZ cap. 2)

The record of the tribe of Kayi Turks before the time of the eponymous Osman is recounted in outline by sources whose narrative may be fable, tradition, or history, or some combination of all three.[5,6]

It may contain elements of historical fact, but little of it can be tested. That Suleymanşah, the leader of the tribe, brought his followers from Mahan in Iran to eastern Anatolia at the time of the Mongol invasion is inherently plausible and well suits the circumstances of the time. That he drowned in the Euphrates, where a castle and a Turkish enclave in Syria commemorate the event, is certainly an ancient tradition. From there, the people moved in the direction of their future home under the leadership of Ertuğrul. He is supposed to have received land on the Karacadağ near Ankara from the Seljuk Sultan Ala ad-Din Kayqubad, and later, as a reward for his assistance in arms, an area with winter and summer pastures on the far western frontier, in and around Söğüt in Bithynia. He settled here with his people and died in 1281. Ottoman history was in its infancy and these lands, its cradle, may be seen.

The figure of Ertuğrul remains shadowy, and may be no more real than that of Romulus. He appears universally in the Turkish tradition, and rarely anywhere else.[7] Yet the countries he inhabited were substantial, even perhaps one from "prehistory." Ala ad-Din Kayqubad I (1220–1237) certainly existed, the most illustrious of the Seljuks of Rum; so illustrious, in fact, that any number of buildings or events can easily be attributed to him. There is a Karaca Dağ not near, but about fifty miles south, of Ankara. It is not especially high, but large, and stands on the edge of the central Anatolian plateau, the natural home of horseman and nomad. It is a plausible site for an early tribal home, but there is no external evidence to connect the two. Another specific item is similarly incapable of verification. Neşri reports that the young Osman in his father's lifetime, saw and fell in love with Mal Hatun, daughter of Sheikh Edebali, at the village of It Burnu on the road between Söğüt and Eskişehir.[8] The place still exists, but in itself provides no confirmation for the story which could have been set there for reasons unknown at any time in the two centuries between event and narrative.[9]

The site of the first homeland, which brings the traditions into history, is of far greater significance. Ertuğrul is supposed to have received a winter pasture at Söğüt, and summer pastures in the Ermeni Beli (Armenian Pass) and the Domaniç mountain. These may be identified and visited, and are worth considering in some detail.

The First Settlement (APZ cap. 2)

The identity of SÖĞÜT with the town that still bears the name has never been in doubt, its fame assured by the tomb of Ertuğrul (Fig. 1.1) venerated there for at least five hundred years. The site, often visited and described, is especially scenic and characteristic of the region.[10] Söğüt is built on sloping hillsides above a stream; its older parts have little level ground (Figs. 1.2, 1.3). The town is surrounded by steep hills on all sides except the north where the wheat fields beyond the tomb of Ertuğrul soon drop off sharply to the valley of the Sangarius, offering magnificent views of the bare rock mountains beyond. The approaches to the town are all difficult, involving passage through mountains with woods and narrow steep passes. The place appears to be in a secure position, remote from all. In fact, though, the site is not at all insignificant, because major routes ran through this rough country.

The earliest description is of Evliya Çelebi, who in the late seventeenth century noted that Söğüt had seven hundred tile-roofed houses, many mosques, hans, and baths, and a market; the tomb of Ertuğrul outside the town was not very prepossessing; a specialty of grape pickles gave additional local fame.[11] Later travelers add various details about the town, and give an image of the surrounding country which in the nineteenth century was

Fig. 1.1 Ertuğrul's tomb in Söğüt

Fig. 1.2 Söğüt, seen from the southeast

Fig. 1.3 Söğüt, from the west

productive of silk, grain, and fruit: to the north was an open undulating country with wheat in the plains and mulberries on the hillsides, while the slopes of the Söğüt Dağ on the south were noted for their fine gardens, orchards, woods, and springs.[12] Little has changed. This country is typical of the "middle" of the three geographical zones into which northwest Anatolia

may be divided. The first stretches from Istanbul to the gorges of the Sangarius, and offers much flat land, some of it swampy, capable now of intense cultivation of market gardens, with fruit and vegetables of all kinds and long stands of poplars; in the past much of it was heavily forested. The middle zone, the broken country between the plains and the plateau, has poppies, grapes, and mulberries with cypresses and plane trees in the low-lying areas, nut trees, lindens, and oaks on the slopes, and a once dense forest of beech, oak, and fir on the mountains. Beyond it begins the open steppe, suitable for sowing with wheat or for grazing sheep and cattle.[13]

Söğüt is mentioned most often in association with the roads, for, as Haci Kalfa noted in the mid-seventeenth century, it lay on the great route across Anatolia. This led from Istanbul through Nicaea, Lefke, and Bilecik to Eskişehir and the plateau, forming part of the major transverse highway which connected the capital with Syria and the East.[14] It was certainly in use in the sixteenth century, but became far more important in the seventeenth, especially after Köprülü Mehmet Pasha built the great caravansaray of Vezirhan, between Lefke and Bilecik, in 1660. Ozuyuk travelers' accounts tell much of this and other roads which radiated from Söğüt.

Travelers of the early nineteenth century, who came from the northwest and left detailed descriptions, followed a direct route from Vezirhan rather than the traditional (and modern) road along the Kara Su valley and through Bilecik. This climbed a ridge, then passed through "wild scenery of broken rocks and barren downs with little or no wood" or "a barren bleak tract with deep winding valleys" until a pass which was followed by twelve or fifteen miles of pleasant country with mulberries and grain.[15] Beyond Söğüt, a chain of rocky hills and a long defile led to a bleak and open country which gradually dropped down to the plain of Eskişehir.

Less frequented routes led south directly to İnönü and southwest to Bozüyük. The former began with a barren country of volcanic rocks then passed most of its course in an extensive mountain forest of oak, fir, and plane until it reached the broad plain of the Sari su.[16] The road to Bozüyük makes a steep climb with spectacular views back over the mountains beyond the Sangarius, then enters a high upland plain, the yayla of Günyarık before descending steeply beside the prehistoric acropolis of Bozüyük. Another route to the north, passable now but apparently not mentioned by travelers, winds down long and steep slopes through some large and prosperous villages to the narrow plain of the Sangarius some 500 meters below. There is no good route to the west: only tracks lead through a wild and broken country to the valley of the Kara Su.

Söğüt thus has a curiously dual character: it is a remote mountain town reached with difficulty, but at the same time stands on one of the main routes of communication in Anatolia. At present, since the construction of the Anatolian railway at the end of the last century, the routes have shifted: traffic to Eskişehır passes through Bilecik and Bozüyük, and Söğüt is more isolated than ever. Yet this isolation was plainly not the case in a long period which can be traced back to the sixteenth century. Evidence for an earlier age is scattered but sufficient to give some elements of the situation in the time of Osman.

The most famous monument of Söğüt is the tomb of Ertuğrul Gazi, which stands outside the town beside the road as it rises toward Bilecik. Although it has occupied this site since the fifteenth century at least, the present structure is of the nineteenth and shows no trace of early Ottoman work. Evliya Çelebi reports that the tomb was destroyed by Tamerlane.[17] If this is so, not only was the tomb extant in 1402, but the route through the town was then in use. Although Söğüt is not mentioned in the narratives of Tamerlane's campaign, it is highly probable that it would have been attacked and destroyed in the aftermath of the battle of Ankara when detachments of the victorious army spread devastation throughout western Asia Minor. In particular, they attacked the centers of Ottoman power, Bursa, Yenişehir, and Iznik; destruction of the tomb of their enemy's ancestor would have had powerful symbolic value. A force could have been dispatched for this purpose from Eskişehir, through which Tamerlane would have passed on his way from Sivrihisar to Kütahya.[18]

The earliest mention of Söğüt is in the epic poem of Ahmedi (c.1334–1412); it first appears in a Byzantine source in the history of Chalcocondyles, who wrote about 1465, but remains on the site are far older.[19] Although neither buildings nor inscriptions appear to have survived from pre-Ottoman times, scattered reused stones, including some evidently from Christian buildings, indicate occupation in the Roman and late antique periods. The ancient name of the site, however, is unknown.[20] Traces of medieval settlement in town and region are typically sparse, yet the sole noted remains, those of a church in the yayla of Günyarık, may be of some significance (Fig. 1.4). Nothing was standing in 1981, when the whole structure had been dug out and much of it carted away for building materials, but the ground plan could be reconstructed and there was sufficient evidence to suggest a chronology. Fragments of columns, a chancel-screen, and sculptural decoration indicated two phases, the first in Late Antiquity, probably the sixth century and the other much later in the Byzantine period, most likely the thirteenth

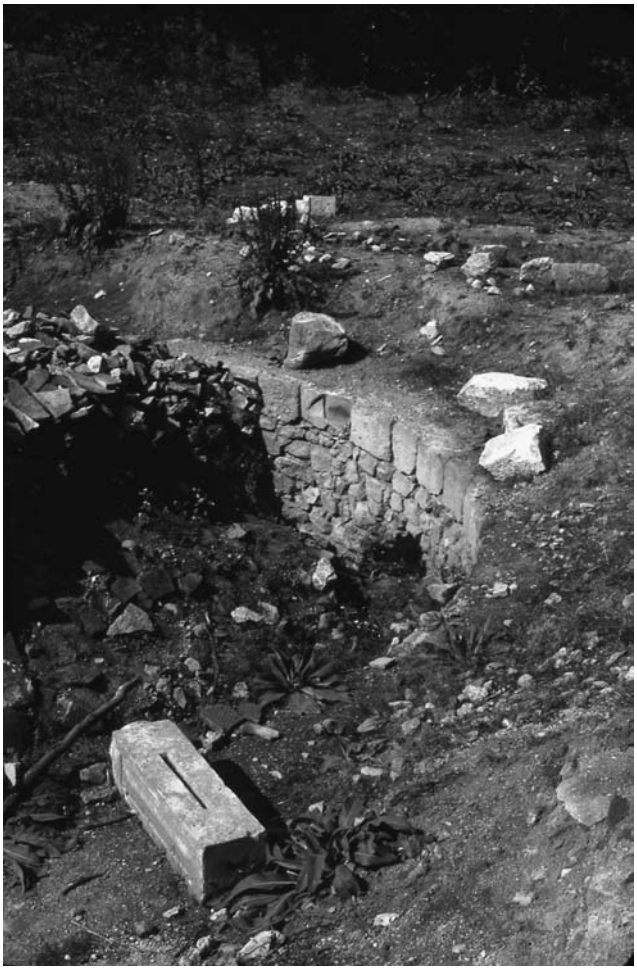

Fig. 1.4 Byzantine remains at Günyarık

century.[21] This thus appears to be a structure rebuilt by the Lascarids and therefore a sign of Byzantine power in the area at a time immediately prior to the arrival of the Ottomans. Medieval evidence for the route is more substantial, especially its most famous users, the forces of the First Crusade, who, victorious at Nicaea, proceeded toward the central plateau and the high road to the Holy Land. When they reached Leucae on the Sangarius, which until recently preserved its name as Lefke, they divided their large army into two groups for the march to Dorylaeum. These would have

followed the two natural routes between those places, one via Söğüt, the other through Bozüyük.[22] Söğüt was thus on a major route in the eleventh century, and again, apparently in the fifteenth. The situation could hardly have been much different in the time of Osman. The implication of this geography—a town seemingly isolated in rough mountain country yet on main communications—will be considered next.

The Summer Pastures

The sites of the summer pastures of Ertuğrul, which may be identified with some certainty, raise some problems. Some were at Ermeni Beli, a pass in the neighborhood of Ermeni Pazar, now called Pazarcık. This town lies at an altitude of 800 meters in a long and narrow fertile plain enclosed by mountains on the north and south. The open rolling country leads gradually westward to a pass of over 1000m, then drops steeply to the broad plain of İnegöl, some seven hundred meters below. To the east, the road from Pazarcık follows a short and steep drop of about 150m to the valley of the Karasu, then rises through that long gorge to the plain of Bozüyük.[23]

Ermeni Beli is usually identified with the pass along the Karasu, the route between Bilecik and Bozüyük; it was known as Ermeni Derventi in later Ottoman times, and was perhaps the site of the Byzantine Armenokastron, which stood on the road somewhere in the vicinity.[24] The earliest sources, however, place Ermeni Beli near İnegöl, making it the higher and longer pass which leads into that plain. In any case, the general area is the same, the pass certainly existed, and had some importance in the late medieval and early modern periods. Armenocastron has not been located, but the natives of Pazarcık knew of a castle in the vicinity of the town. Unfortunately, in spite of what seemed like specific directions and much searching in the wooded hills to the south, it was not found.

Pazarcık itself contains nothing of the period but, like Söğüt, owes its importance to a situation on a major trade route, until recently the main highway between Bursa and the plateau. Its use is attested as early as the sixteenth century; as the natural east–west route, it is probably of great antiquity.[25] In the time of the first European travelers, the main Anatolian highway followed an alternate route south from Nicaea to Yenişehir and Akbıyık to drop into the valley of Pazarcık; it was later replaced by the route through Söğüt.[26] Among others, Busbeck and Dernschwam followed and described it in 1555 on their embassy to the Sultan: Dernschwam notes the

wooded hills with bad roads and wild boar before Ermen Pazarcık, and the find region with good soil around the town whose prosperity was then revealed by a mosque and a caravansaray, as well as the frequent trains of camels and donkeys bearing grain to Bursa; from there, the road crossed streams and mountains to pass through a narrow valley and oak forests before entering the broader cultivated and sheep-raising plains of Bozüyük. The most detailed account, that of Karl Humann, who passed through here on his way from Bursa to the East in 1882, suggests that little had changed in three centuries, his party climbed for three hours from the plain of the İnegöl, gradually entering a forest of tall oaks and beech, supposed to be the abode of wild deer, jackals, bears and panthers. After journeying for over two hours and passing two *derbents*, or police posts, they reached the foot of the mountain and the end of the forest. They saw three small sites with ancient ruins before reaching Bazarcik then, seven kilometers after the town, dropped suddenly to the valley gorge of the Karasu, which they crossed by a bridge before finally reaching Bozüyük. The wild and romantic scenery of the Karasu gorge (the Ottoman Ermeni Derbent) which the road and railway now follow has long been admired and often described.[27]

Once again, a site which may be identified with some probability is situated on major routes, attested, as usual, only for later times, but inhabited by the Romans and apparently of some significance in the Middle Ages. When the armies of the second Crusade left Nicaea, they had a choice of three routes to their goal: one, on the left leading to Dorylaeum, was short and direct but dangerous; the middle route was safer and longer, but poorer; that on the right, along the west coast, was longest but safest and best supplied. The first was evidently the direct route through Söğüt, and the second most probably the western road past Yenişehir and Pazarcık.[28] In the event, the Germans followed the first with predicted disastrous results; the French, who went along the coast, did no better.

The actual pastures remain to be defined. If the text is to be taken literally, and the men of Osman considered as possessing large flocks of sheep, they would have found grazing land in the fertile valley bottom rather than in the steep and heavily wooded slopes on all sides. The first summer pasture, therefore, is another place in rough mountain country, but on major routes.

The other yayla was on the Domaniç Dağ, the massive chain which forms the eastern extension of Ulu Dağ, the Mysian Olympus. The mountain towers above the plain of İnegöl from which foothills rise gradually until the beginning of the steep main range; it has several distinct characteristics

(Figs. 1.5, 1.6). As the modern road leaves the plain, it climbs slowly and crosses a ridge to the town of Tahtaköprü where the real ascent begins. Below Tahtaköprü, and particularly to the east, stretch fertile valleys, yaylas enclosed by hills, full of grass in the summer, and dotted with sheep. To the south, a steep and rough road climbs the mountain soon to enter a vast and dark forest, a dense growth of beeches unparalleled (in my experience) in western Turkey (Fig. 1.7). The slow progress along the road probably exaggerates the size of the forest, but it is hardly less than ten kilometers across and stretches as far as the eye can see east and west along the ridge. The trees are so thick and tall that viewpoints are rare until the summit is crossed and the treeless plains of Phrygia appear below at what seems a vast distance. Ertuğrul certainly did not pasture his sheep in this forest or anywhere near the summit of the mountain.

Osman is supposed to have crossed the plain of İnegöl, evidently after descending the Ermeni Beli, to reach this yayla. This is a far better route than the rough mountain tracks he would have had to follow to reach the area in a straight line from his home, and would lead him to quite suitable pastures on the lower slopes around Tahtaköprü, far below the forest belt. Sheep are in evidence there now, as they were when Browne passed by on June 30, 1802. After leaving the village of Ortakoy at the southern edge of

Fig. 1.5 The Domaniç mountains, with some grazing ground [5]

Fig. 1.6 Looking down on the plain of İnegöl from the Domaniç range

Fig. 1.7 The great forest near Domaniç

the plain, he noted: "The road here lay through a wood where I observed the largest flocks of sheep I have ever seen in Turkey. The shepherds told me that the number here collected exceeded seven thousand: they were driven to this spot for the advantage of being sheltered by the trees from the sun."[29] A more vivid confirmation of the tradition could hardly be expected. Browne saw the sheep at an altitude of about 350m; the pastures of Tahtaköprü are around 550m; the forests stretch from about 1000m to the summit which in places exceeded 1900m. The significance of these figures will become apparent soon.

This region and its forest are known from many reports of travelers because the direct route from Bursa to Kütahya has crossed Mt. Domaniç south of İnegöl for many centuries. It is first described by Bertrandon de la Broquiere who commented on the height and length of the passage in 1432.[30] The route in fact appears to be much older, apparently used by Byzantine armies in the twelfth century, if not earlier. Manuel Comnenus in 1146 followed the steep and overgrown path at night by torchlight, moving against the Turks; but the accounts of this and other campaigns are exceptionally unclear.[31] The most detailed descriptions are later: Belon in 1555 commented on the long ascent, the abundance of tragacanth, the forest of pine oak and beech, the snow, and wild boars; in 1645, Evliya Çelebi had, or expected to have, far more trouble. The Turcoman guides he got from a village six hours from İnegöl disappeared as soon as he entered the forest, and the party proceeded, weapons drawn and on the watch, "in the midst of a thousand fears" from the bandits who infested the road, until they reached the villages of Domaniç.[32]

Trouble came more often from the state of the road and the weather than from bandits; the sizes of the forest added to real or imagined problems. For Lucas at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the forest was vast and the road so poor that he was barely able to advance; Olivier, at the end of it, crossing by night like Manuel Comnenus, reached daylight and the summit in a thick forest of beeches, some, he said, a hundred feet high and three feet thick.[33] In 1814, Kinneir made his way up through thick snow and a forest of pines, oaks, and beech until, "worn out with cold and fatigue" he reached the lower slopes above İnegöl. Texier described the route in 1835 as passing through fine forests of beech, oak, and chestnut, some with trunks twenty meters high and two meters thick. Deep in the forest, the road gave out, and he followed a stream bed through vines and thorns, with no sound but the dull noise of the stream mixing like an echo with the rustling of the leaves. In his day, the forest stretched twenty-four kilometers along the road.

Mordtmann almost got lost in 1852, but soon found that the pass was less fearsome than he had been led to expect. For him, the beeches of Schleswig-Holstein were mere dwarves compared to these; like his predecessors, he spent many hours passing through the beeches before they mixed on the descent with oaks, then planes.[34]

These accounts apparently describe a route like, if not identical with, the modern road. Texier described another, the route from Bursa and İnegöl to Tavşanlı and Aezani west of Kütahya. This was exceptionally tiring for the horses, but passed through a country with magnificent woods, and splendid views. Keppel followed it in the reverse direction a few years earlier, marching through the forest on beaten snow; he noted that the oaks and beeches were used for shipbuilding. Only the intrepid MacFarlane, coming from Bursa in 1847, chose a somewhat different passage. An hour from İnegöl, he passed a massive ruined caravansaray of brick and tiles, arriving soon after at the foot of green hills and "a beautiful wild valley abounding with the finest pasture," but offering no sign of cultivation or human habitation. At the village of Musal, he learned the dangers of living near the forest as the villagers explained how their ox teams were pressed into service to drag out huge trees to be used for the sultan's ships. He continued from their past a grand cliff of red rock, still a notable landmark, through a forest full of wild beasts; "the overhanging branches of the trees and the dense foliage shut out the sun and made a solemn gloom," which cleared in time for the trip to be made more spectacular by a solar eclipse. Soon after, they arrived at the hot springs (of Oylat) where they found columns of steam rising from the ground, basins of hot water, and a ruined stone bath building, "probably of the Lower Empire." From there, after an even thicker forest of beeches and pines, they reached "the horrible bridle-path," which led them down the south slopes.[35]

The travelers reveal the essential features of the landscape: the plain of İnegöl, the lower slopes and valleys suitable for pasture or cultivation, and the vast beech forest, evidently of immemorial antiquity. The trees effectively block communication over the mountain for all but small parties, and even now the road is very bad, steep, and slow. The yaylas of Ertuğrul would thus not have been high on the mountain, but on the lower slopes in the vicinity of Tahtaköprü. Its pastures, like those of the Ermeni Beli, stand astride a major route, and raise a similar problem about the tradition.

It is evident so far that the first places mentioned all existed; towns and pastures are in the right places; the setting is authentic. The sources make no mention of the roads, perhaps because they were not of interest for the

subject which deals, or seems to deal, with a heroic and nomadic age. Nomads certainly need summer and winter pastures, and so the areas have been defined. Yet a visit, or even careful study of a map, raises a serious problem: which are the winter pastures, and which the summer? Söğüt, the home, has an altitude of 656m; Ermeni Pazar is at 800m, and Tahtaköprü at 560, with pastures somewhat higher and lower.[36] In other words, there is no significant difference in elevation, or climate, between the three places; they are equally hot in summer and cold in winter. It is hard to understand why Osman should have moved his sheep between them and, if he did, what advantage he would have gained. Even more curious in this respect is the geography of the land around Söğüt. There is a good yayla in the mountains to the south, and winter pastures could have been found, if they were available, in the valley of the Sangarius (altitude 180m) or in the land to the northwest toward Vezirhan. The places fit the historical tradition perfectly well, but not its nomadic component.

First Battles and Conquests (APZ caps. 3, 5)

As Osman and his followers passed from their winter to their summer pastures, they crossed the plain of İnegöl which lay on the direct route. When the *tekfur,* or Christian commander, of İnegöl (his name was Aya Nikola) harassed these peaceful movements, Osman appealed to the *tekfur* of Bilecik, and arranged to leave his heavy goods and valuables in the security of his castle during the seasonal movements.[37] Osman planned to set fire to İnegöl by night, but Aya Nikola laid an ambush at the end of the Ermeni Beli. Osman, however, made a successful attack. In the ensuing battle, his nephew Bay Hoca was killed; he was buried near the village of Hamza Beg where a ruined caravansaray stood near his tomb.

This account is consistent with the traditional image of a nomad tribe migrating between pastures, alien to town life, without a defensible base, and thus in need of the borrowed security of Bilecik. The arrangement with that *tekfur* is typical of many stories which show the good relations between Osman and the Christian population; the battle of Ermeni Beli was the first of many hostile but successful encounters with his Byzantine neighbors. The places mentioned are real, most of them attested for the period.

İNEGÖL is now a large and thriving town famous for its meatballs, the *İnegöl köftesi.* It occupies the center of a rich, cultivated plain and has long been of importance. The Ottoman tradition suggests that it was a Byzantine

base whose defenses were no doubt intended to protect the plain and the routes through it. These, as noted, were the main road from Bursa to Eskişehir, and the western of the roads between Nicaea and the plateau. For the early history of the town, which is totally obscure, this text gives a valuable and circumstantial piece of evidence: its Byzantine name, St. Nicholas. Aya Nikola, the name of the *tekfur*, plainly represents a place name, and would in fact be highly inappropriate for an individual. The modern name İnegöl is a modification of the Ottoman Aynegöl, the form which invariably appears in early sources. In this case, a Byzantine Ayos Nikolaos was simply Turkicised to become Aynegöl; the normally accepted identification of the town with a Byzantine Angelokome is based on a fancied resemblance of name.[38]

İnegöl contains no castle or remains of great antiquity, but a mosque and bath attributed to Beyazit I indicates some importance at the end of the fourteenth century, while the great complex of buildings of Ishak Pasha with its splendid mosque certainly indicates considerable prosperity, much of it no doubt from commerce, in the middle of the fifteenth. It was a flourishing town in the time of Evliya Çelebi.[39]

In the past, the surroundings of the town had a rather different aspect: the edges and part of the plain were heavily wooded, but there was sufficient cultivated land to justify its description as "a country as much favoured by the bounties of nature as it is cursed by the oppression of man"; the center, however, was treeless and swampy where the river flowed through low-lying parts. In the late nineteenth century, there was extensive agriculture in the plain, aided by stone embankments which contained the extensive marshes.[40] There is no reason to doubt that the town and plain were well worth fighting over in the time of Osman.

Osman's nephew fell in the battle and was buried near the village of HAMZA BEY. This, too, is a real place, situated at the northern edge of the plain where the road enters the pass which leads toward the plain of Yenişehir. Mordtmann reports that it had a bridge where the road crossed the Koca Çay and a fine mosque, probably the signs of prosperity from the transit trade.[41] The ruined caravansaray supposedly near the tomb is a significant detail, too circumstantial and easy to check to be a fabrication. If such a structure were already ruined in the late fifteenth century, it would have functioned at an earlier, but already Ottoman, time (the Byzantines did not construct such buildings) and the importance of the place be brought back much closer to the period in question.

BILECIK, whose location has always been known, is the first site which actually contains remains from the appropriate time. The old town stands,

not very comfortably, on rocks and steep slopes at the base of a high ridge of the edge of a valley which leads down to the moderately broad plain around the Kara Su (Fig. 1.8). Streets are rough and steep, and the rocks seemingly so dangerous that they were fastened to the cliffs by chains, to keep them from crushing houses, in the mid-nineteenth century.[42] The modern visitor passes through the new town, a dull place built along the highway at the top of the ridge, but can easily see the old part from above as he leaves the town toward the south.

The last hills at the bottom of the ridge contain the most important monuments so far considered: the fortress and the mosque of Orhan. The lord of Bilecik had a castle in which he could protect the goods of Osman; badly ruined scraps of its walls still stand on an isolated hill about the mosque of Orhan. They are built in coursed rubble with intermittent bands of reused brick, techniques which could indicate a late Byzantine origin—perhaps a poor or provincial work of the Lascarids, or Palaeologans.[43] In any case, they proclaim the town as one existing when Osman came to the region.[44] Here, then, is the first structure mentioned in the sources which can be identified with standing remains. If the town contained nothing else, it would be plausible that the stories were inspired by the ruined castle. The mosque of Orhan, however, leaves no doubt that the place was an early Ottoman settlement, and one of considerable importance (Fig. 1.9). The

Fig. 1.8 The site of Bilecik

Fig. 1.9 Bilecik: Orhan's mosque

building has been well studied, its style and techniques of construction analyzed; there is no doubt that it is a product, and a quite distinguished one, of the mid-fourteenth century.[45] The town also contains a well-built *imaret* plausibly attributed to Orhan.[46] In this case, the remains combine to confirm the narrative of the sources.

"1286" First Victory (APZ cap. 5)

In the following year, Osman made his first strike outside his immediate homeland—against his enemy the *tekfur* of İnegöl.[47] He attacked and burned the small fortress of Kulaca and slaughtered its garrison. This marks the beginning of his career of conquest, and the occasion for increasing concern among the Byzantines.

A place called KULACA is still on the maps and very easy to find, lying not far off the main Bursa-Eskişehir highway, its location marked by a large signpost to the source of local renown, a factory for tomato sauce. The town lies on the banks of a stream about five kilometers east of İnegöl in a site good for agriculture but difficult to defend. Its easy accessibility has not kept it from remaining unknown: the friendly and helpful villagers knew of no other foreigners who had come to see the ruins. Long before living memory, however, Carl Humann passed through in l882 and revealed the importance

of the site: it lay on the main route from Bursa and İnegöl to the valley of Bazarcık and thence to the plateau. In his day, as now, the place had a good bridge, a feature whose value becomes evident from his account of traversing this marshy country, crossing with enormous difficulty streams swollen by the spring rains. The site would thus be of some real value for controlling the plain and communication through it, which, to judge by Humann's mention of a ruined stone caravansaray at Kurşunlu, just east of Kulaca, followed this route in the Ottoman period. E. H. Ayverdi has investigated the place for its historical remains, and concluded that it contained nothing of architectural interest.[48] In general terms, his judgment was confirmed by the visit: although the locals knew that their town was the first conquest of Osman, they could show nothing from his time, expressing only the rather wishful suggestion that their old mosque (perhaps of the nineteenth century) somehow represented or replaced Kulaca Hisar.[49] This seemed like a case of a schoolmaster's fancy identifying a modern site with one of an heroic age, yet the village had the right name and occupied the right location. A small bit of evidence came from a ruined bath whose architecture seemed to evidence no great age; it contained a reused Byzantine capital, probably of the sixth century. This single stone cannot demonstrate the antiquity of the site—it could have been brought from elsewhere—but it at least raised the possibility of Byzantine settlement there, and with it indirect and dim confirmation of the chronicles.

"1286" (APZ cap. 5)

The local *tekfur*s, now alarmed, formed their first alliance against Osman, and their defeat was his first victory over a united opposition. The commanders of İnegöl and Karacahisar, aided by Kalanos, brother of the latter, joined forces against the new threat. Osman advanced to a place variously reported as Ikizce, Ekinci, or something similar, but actually to be read, with the slightest emendation, as Alınca.[50] This lies between İnegöl and Pazaryeri. There was a great battle here where the one crossed the Domaniç Beli. The Ottomans, naturally, were victorious, but Saru Yatı, brother of Osman, fell, at a place where there was a great pine tree, called the Tree with Lights (Kandilli Çam) because of a light that shone there on many occasions. He was buried beside his father in Söğüt. Kalanos also fell; Osman ordered his men to rip open his belly and to scratch at the ground like a dog and bury him at a place thereafter named It Eseni ("Dog Scratching").[51]

If the mention of the Domaniç pass has any significance, though, and if the infidel commanders met halfway between their respective bases, Alnca and It Eseni would be in the right location. Before Alınca was brought into the discussion, I supposed that a site with the possibly significant name of Kandilli might be considered. Although that is now unlikely, I leave the description of the site as another example of the local fortifications.

The village of KANDILLI stands on the Sari Su at the southern edge of a broad plain, west of İnönü, and almost due south of Bozüyük. The Kara Su rises nearby, the village being situated near the watershed between Bithynia and the broad Phrygian plains. Kandilli lies at the foot of a long oval hill which rises rather steeply over the adjacent plain. A gorge separates it from the mountain mass on the south which bounds the broad and fertile plain of İnönü; this comes to an end just to the west in the barrier of the Kandilli Dağ, an offshoot of the main Domaniç range. The village occupies a potentially strategic location with easy routes north along the Kara Su, west to İnönü and Eskişehir, and to the south a track which leads over hills and mountain pastures to Kütahya.[52]

The hill above the village offers splendid views over the surrounding plains and mountains and contains remains of some interest.[53] About half the summit is, or rather was, surrounded by a wall invisible from below. The only substantial part now standing consists of a tower on the south side at the end of a cross-wall which protected the approach from the gentler west slope. The tower is built of core of mortared rubble with a facing of well-cut stone in regular courses, with a double band of brick. Most of the stones, according to local shepherds were long since removed to build the mosque in the nearby village of Karaağaç. The cross-wall displays two distinct kinds of mortar, suggesting perhaps two periods of construction. These dilapidated remains indicate a Byzantine origin—the stonework could as well be Seljuk, but the brick bands are typically Byzantine—quite probably of the Comnenian period when such a masonry was in common use.[54] The rest of the circuit has left little trace, but enough to show that the hilltop was surrounded by a wall which enclosed an area of about 400 × 100 meters. Its large size and location at the edge of fertile lands suggest an origin as a refuge sit of the Dark Ages, the seventh to ninth centuries. Whatever its exact date, it is evident that a Byzantine fortress stood here which in its last stage probably represented parts of the Comnenian effort to retain control of their eastern border.[55] The fortress would no doubt have been standing and in good condition in the time of Osman.

Karacahisar, Sultanönü, and Conflict with Germiyan: "1288–1300"

The conquest of Karacahisar in 1288 looms large in Ottoman tradition. Here, the first Friday prayers were held in the name of Osman; the town was thus the scene of his proclamation of independence from the Seljuks, then in fatal decline. The confusing narrative of the events and attendant circumstances indicate that a group of legends sprung up around these conquests to reflect the importance attached to the place. Since Karacahisar is associated with the acquisition of the whole region called Sultan Önü—which includes İnönü and Eskişehir as well—it may be best to treat these places together in an attempt to analyze the tradition and to understand its significance.

APZ (cap. 2) reports that the Seljuk sultan Ala ad-Din settled Ertuğrul in the region between Bilecik and (Afyon) Karahisar that had been plagued by attacks of the Çavdar Tatars; at that time the *tekfur* of Sultanönü and Karacahisar was paying tribute to the sultan. (According to the Anonymous [p. 11f.] the *tekfur*s of Karahisar and Bilecik were tributary to the sultan.) Neşri attributes the conquest of Karacahisar to Ertuğrul, a pious act to assure that proper respect was paid to the Seljuk Sultan. On the death of the Sultan, however, the Muslims are supposed to have lost control of the town.[56] A romantic tale of love and war purports to recount events affecting the whole district in the days of Ertuğrul, at a time when the young Osman was still unsuccessful in his suit for the hand of Malhun, daughter of the learned Sheikh Edebali of İt Burnu. In this, the beys of Sultan Öyüğü and Eskişehir appear in alliance with the Christian Mihal of Harmankaya to attack the bey of İnönü, friend and protector of Osman. The main action is set around the ruined castle of Inhisar in the district of İnönü, where Osman defeats the bey of Eskişehir, his rival for the affections of Malhun, and gains the alliance of Mihal and of the Sheikh.[57]

The confused geography of this account—Sultan Öyüğü and Eskişehir are really the same place; Inhisar is in the valley of the Sangarius far from İnönü, sharing only a resemblance of name—reveal it as a folktale, apparently of no value. When that story is taken together with another passage from the same source, however, a certain historical reality seems to emerge. According to Neşri, when Osman came to power, deputies of the Seljuk Ala ad-Din II were ruling in Eskişehir of (the province of) Sultanöyüğü and İnönü, while the contemporary Haci Bektaş mentions Ermeni Beli as marking the frontier between the Byzantine and Seljuk realms.[58] This may reflect

a real situation in which the frontier region at the northwestern edge of the Anatolian plateau was still under the control of Konya, though perhaps, if one may judge from the independence of action attributed to these beys, in a somewhat attenuated form. The tradition, in any case, shows these rulers—the Christian *tekfur*s of Bilecik and Karacahisar and the Muslim beys of Eskişehir and Inönü as independent of Osman at the beginning of his career.

More serious tradition begins with the conquest of Karacahisar in 1288, an event accompanied by suitably edifying circumstances. When Sultan Ala ad-Din heard of the victory of Osman over the infidel coalition, he gathered a large army to attack Karacahisar whose *tekfur*, always hostile (both to him and to Osman: he had participated in the joint attack of 1286) was allied with the emir of Germiyan. Osman's forces joined the enterprise but the Sultan had to withdraw because of a Tartar attack, leaving Osman to carry on with his blessing. After a few days, the castle was stormed and conquered, its commander captured, and its houses handed over to the followers of Osman who turned the place into a Muslim city. The Sultan, delighted by the news, conferred on Osman the symbols of delegated authority: a banner, a tent, horses, and weapons, thus granting official recognition to his exploits.[59] Osman thereafter followed a policy of good relations with his Christian neighbors.[60]

The only problems came from Germiyan, constantly hostile to the Ottomans. When Osman set up a market by the hot springs of Eskişehir, many of the local Christians came, among them merchants of Bilecik who brought drinking glasses of good quality. On one occasion, a man from Germiyan took a glass from a Christian merchant without paying. Osman, on hearing of this, chastised the Turk, ensuring justice for the Christians so successfully that the market became large and flourishing. Karacahisar gained importance in a different role: it apparently became a major fortress, the place where Osman and Mihal returned after their expedition north of the Sangarius in 1293.[61]

The tradition reports rather anomalously, however, that Karacahisar remained empty for some time until people from Germiyan asked for houses there; Osman granted them, and the place grew and prospered. Many churches were turned into mosques, and a market established. When the people asked that a Friday prayer be organized and a *kadi* (religious judge) appointed—signs of city life and of independence—Osman took the bold step of having the prayer read in his own name, thus proclaiming his independence in 1299.[62] This date has been taken to mark the beginning of the Ottoman empire. After organizing the administration of the city, Osman

turned the whole district, which was also called İnönü, over to his eldest son Orhan to rule.

Within a few years, he was called on to defend his province when the Çavdar Tatars, inhabitants of the region of Germiyan, attacked the market of Karacahisar.[63] Orhan at that moment was having his horses shod at Eskişehir. He advanced rapidly, met the Tatars at a ruined castle called Oynaş in the mountains defeated them, and brought back the stolen goods with numerous captives to Karacahisar. There, Osman ordered the Tatars, who were fellow Muslims, released and made a peace with them which lasted until the end of the fourteenth century.[64]

Everything in the sources indicates that Karacahisar and its neighbors were of considerable significance, for both real and symbolic reasons, in the rise of the Ottomans. All the places mentioned in these narratives may be identified, and most of them visited. The results of such investigation, combined with evidence from other, earlier sources, raise serious questions about the Ottoman traditions, and allow this part of them to be seen in a quite different light from those which have so far been considered.

The location of KARACAHISAR is well established, and its site easy to reach (Fig. 1.10). The castle stands on a commanding ridge overlooking the narrow valley of the Porsuk, on the south side of the river about ten kilometers southwest of Eskişehir. It was plainly designed to control the passage along

Fig. 1.10 Karacahisar barely visible on top of the hill [10]

the river between Eskişehir and Kütahya or, more appropriately, Dorylaeum and Cotyaeum. The town associated with it, Karacaşehir, lies slightly downstream at the confluence with a tributary. The center seems to have shifted here at a fairly early date, for a document of the late fifteenth century shows the town as the headquarters of a *kaza*, or administrative district, a distinction it still retained two centuries later. The document mentions a *zaviye* (dervish lodge) in the town, and the names of various dependent villages. Dernschwam in 1555 learned that Karacaşehir had a castle and a population of Turks and Armenians, but its market was empty; since it lay off his route, he did not visit it. Yet for Haji Kalfa, the place was a fine town with good air, north of Kütahya, at a distance of four hours from İnönü, and with a castle conquered by Osman.[65] Subsequently, it became a village and attracted little attention until the late nineteenth century, when scholars attempted to define the site of ancient Dorylaeum. At one time, it was proposed that the earliest settlement of Dorylaeum lay here; General von der Goltz, told that the ancient name of the place was Dorila (on dubious authority, it seems), visited the site and found that it contained no trace of antiquity, a defect which he modestly attributed to his own ignorance of archaeology. In fact, Dorylaeum was soon firmly located at Eskişehir, and Karacahisar recognized as a site from the Middle Ages, although subsequently some late antique as well as Byzantine inscriptions were discovered there.[66]

Karacahisar is a large castle in a dominating position, formerly impossible to visit because it has become the site of a radar base, but thanks to its importance in Ottoman history and his reputation as the pre-eminent historian of the Ottomans, Prof. Halil Inalcık got permission to investigate the site.[67] Descriptions and photographs of the fort reveal its significant characteristics.[68] Its walls were constructed of a core or mortared rubble faced with regularly coursed fieldstones, among them some courses of long flat stones and an occasional band of three or more bricks. The masonry contained a great many reinforcing timbers. The use of the flat stones and brick are Byzantine characteristics; the irregular masonry suggests a late date, perhaps in the twelfth century. The castle is probably to be identified with one of the unnamed forts in the region of Dorylaeum which Manuel Comnenus provisioned in 1175 prior to rebuilding Dorylaeum.[69] Remains in the town are modern or at best old structures rebuilt. There is thus no trace of the mosque which a document of questionable authenticity attributes to "Sultan Osman Han Gazi."[70]

If the castle of Karacahisar were built some hundred years before the rise of Osman, it was no doubt still standing and maintained in his time. It would

have been a valuable frontier defense for the Seljuks, who controlled the region by the late twelfth century, and even more significant for their successors, the emirs of Germiyan. The castle controls the main routes from their capital, Kütahya, to Eskişehir, Ankara and the central plateau; if it were in enemy hands, the approaches to the heartland of their state would have been under serious threat. Its history in this period, however, is totally obscure.

The tradition is curiously ambiguous about the role of Germiyan at Karacahisar. Leaving aside stories of the heroic days of Ertuğrul, the sources show that the place was a center of enmity between Osman and Germiyan, and sometimes allow the local power of the latter to be seen. As already noted, Osman is supposed to have taken it from infidels when Germiyan was negligent in attacking them. Osman secured justice for the Christians against Germiyan whose men are portrayed as mere visitors to the market at Eskişehir; later, but before 1299, the surprisingly empty town was populated by settlers from Germiyan. The most curious incident is a disingenuous one which illustrates the pristine virtues of the simple tribesman, Osman: after Karacahisar had been organized as a city, a man from Germiyan came, seeking to buy the right to collect taxes on the local market. When he was brought before Osman, the ruler was completely ignorant of taxes, reacted with some indignation when they were explained to him and drove the man from his presence. Finally, however, when he learned that taxes were the normal rule everywhere, he allowed a small percentage to be collected.[71] Then, as has been seen, he attributed the local administration to Orhan who had to fight against Tatars from Germiyan.

These stories suggest a serious problem in the tradition, somewhat similar to the ambiguity in early Roman history about the Sabines or Etruscans, foreign people whose major, even dominant role, could not be concealed. The Ottoman tradition no doubt contains a similar distortion. The early chroniclers plainly wanted to magnify the importance of the conquest of Karacahisar, and thus the establishment of Ottoman power on the plateau; hence its retrojection to the reign of Ertuğrul, and its association with the Seljuk Sultan. Yet at the same time, they could not escape the known fact that Germiyan was powerfully involved here: by their own admission, the place had a Germiyanid population, and someone from Germiyan could propose to collect taxes there. It seems most probable that the tradition is attempting to cover the unwelcome fact that this strategic place near the Ottoman homeland was in the hands of Germiyan long after the supposed date of the Ottoman conquest. This, indeed, seems an inevitable conclusion from other evidence. An inscription of 1300 shows the ruler of Germiyan in

control of Ankara, under the real or nominal suzerainty of Ala ad-Din Kayqubad III.[72] Although their power over Ankara seems to have had a brief life—the city was apparently subject to the Mongols by 1304. It is difficult to believe that such a great extension of empire could have taken place when a crucial fort on the road between Kütahya and Ankara was in the hands off their Ottoman enemies. The Ottoman conquest thus needs to be placed after the first years of the fourteenth century; how much later will be considered next.

Orhan defeated the Tatars at a ruined mountain castle OYNAŞ, a real place, discovered by the indefatigable Major von Diest in 1896. The castle stands in the rough country of the "highlands of Phrygia," a remote region between Eskişehir and Afyon famous for its ancient monuments. It is about fifty kilometers south of Eskişehir, in an area far different from any so far considered, full of easily defensible hills and mountains, narrow valleys and small plains, and extensive forests. The castle, in modern times called Asar Kale, occupies a steep round-topped hill overlooking a broad space which, according to von Diest, was clearly marked with lines resembling a network of streets. This lower area preserved the name Oyneş, and seems to represent the ancient metropolis of Phrygia. Later investigations of the region have revealed that the fortress was in origin Phrygian, but was reoccupied in the Middle Ages, perhaps by the Byzantines or somewhat later. In the plain below are fragments of a medieval Byzantine church and a Seljuk tomb, both witnesses to the existence, if not the importance, of the place in the late Middle Ages. The location, although remote, has the advantage of dominating the road which leads south from Eskişehir and Seyitgazi to Afyon, towns of some importance under Byzantines and Seljuks.[73] Although real, Oynaş is exceptionally far from the area of activity which even a generous tradition might attribute to Osman. There seems no reason to believe that his son would have fought a battle there as an independent agent, far from his homeland. Three possibilities seem open: either the identification is wrong; or the tradition is correct, and Orhan participated in a battle here, in which case his detachment is probably to be seen as marching in support of another power and perhaps under its leadership; or Oynaş has been brought into the record because there is a place called Karacaşehir which contains another castle about five kilometers southwest of it.[74] In that case, the identity of name between this and the settlement below Karacahisar could have produced some confusion and attribution of action by Osman to this far-away region. The case is quite different from those of İnegöl or Bilecik, say, where a real place is in a location otherwise plausible for the

events described. There seems little reason to believe that the young Orhan would have fought a battle at Oynaş, far from his homeland, as an independent agent.

İNÖNÜ, the second center of Sultanönü, takes its name "Front of the Cave" from the great caverns in the cliff directly behind the town. It, too, appears in the saga of Ertuğrul's days but, curiously, nowhere else in the tradition. The site is so distinctive that its identity has never been in doubt; it is described by several travelers, and contains monuments, not always easy to interpret, of an appropriate period. The town lies at an elevation of 872 meters at the foot of the Dutluca Dağ, at the south end of the broad plain of the Sarı Su, which extends from the vicinity of Kandilli, gradually rising toward Eskişehir (Fig. 1.11). A low ridge of hills separates this plain from that of Bozüyük, while an easy pass leads across the plateau to the valley of the Porsuk. Since the town is conveniently situated on routes which lead from the north and northwest southward to Kütahya or eastward to Eskişehir and the central plateau, it has been frequently visited.

In the seventeenth century, Haji Kalfa described İnönü as having many caves, one of them inhabited, and a castle with a garrison of a dozen soldiers, located on a mountain reached with great difficulty. He noted that the town stood on roads which led to Akbiyik (north of İnegöl), Eskişehir, and

Fig. 1.11 The town of İnönü

Karacaşehir. Otter gave a suspiciously similar description in 1736, when he passed the town without stopping on his way from Bilecik and Bozüyük to Eskişehir.[75] When General Koehler visited in 1800, he came from Kütahya through "fine pasture lands mixed with good timber trees" until he looked down on the broad plain of İnönü, which in his time was a large village under a precipice with caverns, some the abode of eagles. "One enormous cavern," he reported, "is shut up in front by a wall with battlements and towers and seems to have served as a sort of citadel." He passed from there to Söğüt.[76] Keppel arrived from the opposite direction in 1831, noting the numerous Greek pillars in the graveyard and reporting the existence of a castle halfway up the mountain, which he could not visit because the frost had made the route too slippery.[77] As he remarked, the reported castle may have been no more than the walled up cave; no other fortification seems to be known in the region.

The most striking landmark of İnönü is certainly the great cliff face rising sheer above the town, and the huge cave in it.[78] Most of the wall which blocked the entrance has now disappeared, but surviving traces show a masonry of squared stones without brick over a core of mortared rubble which has been strengthened by an extensive network of wooden beams (Fig. 1.12). In style, this most closely resembles the walls of Afyon Karahisar, a Seljuk work of the thirteenth century. It appears in any case to be Seljuk rather than Byzantine and may thus be taken as a monument of the period immediately before Osman. Reused stones scattered through the town extend the history back by providing evidence of a substantial settlement of the Roman and late antique periods.

The most notable monument of the town, however, is the mosque of Yadigar, situated just below the main cave. According to the inscription over its door, this was the work of Hoja Yadigar, son of the Sultan Ali, in the year 771 (1369/70).[79] Analysis of the architectural style has shown that the mosque is similar to others of that date, thus confirming the authenticity of the inscription.[80] The name of Sultan Ali raises central questions: Who was he and who ruled İnönü at the time? The answer is not at all obvious: there is no Ottoman sultan named Ali, and the date is too late for reference to Alisir, the ancestor of the Germiyans, to be intended. Yet it does appear—though the identification is by no means certain—that Ali may have been a byname of Suleymanshah, who ruled Germiyan from 1361 to 1387.[81] If so, İnönü would not have been Ottoman even at that late date. It is thus not surprising that İnönü finds no place in the traditions about Osman. APZ only mentions the *sanjak* of İnönü being entrusted by Orhan to his son

Fig. 1.12 İnönü's fortified cave

Murad after the conquest of Bursa and before that of Iznik, with no indication of when and how it came into his hands.[82] İnönü only appears in history with the inscription of Hoca Yadigar. It was quite probably the seat of a small independent emirate.

The location of ESKIŞEHIR has never been in doubt, and its identification with the ancient and Byzantine Dorylaeum is well established. It occupies one of the most strategic sites in Anatolia, the point where the routes which lead from Europe via the Bosporus, the Dardanelles, or the Sea of Marmara, converge after passing through the broken country of Bithynia and before diverging to the south and east through the central steppe to the neighboring regions and countries (Fig. 1.13). The site has therefore long been occupied by a city, which in the Middle Ages was a major military base and in modern times has become a principal railway junction and industrial center. It is far more important than any of the sites so far discussed.

Byzantine Dorylaeum was a great fortress, one of the posts where the emperor and his troops stopped to gather reinforcements on their campaigns

Fig. 1.13 Looking east from Sultanönü

to the East. After the collapse of Asia Minor to the Turks in the late eleventh century, it became the scene of the first great victories of the First Crusade, whose forces necessarily followed the route which led here in 1097. Their successors of the Second Crusade took the same road in 1147, but enjoyed far less success. During most of the twelfth century, the town appears to have been deserted and its region, given over to nomadism, served as a sort of no-man's-land between Seljuks and Byzantines. Finally, Manuel Comnenus decided to strengthen his border by refortifying Dorylaeum, an act considered a provocation by the Turks, and which formed a prelude to the disaster of Myriokephalon in 1176.[83]

The town fell almost immediately to the Seljuks, for al-Harawi, who visited it not long after 1177, described it as a place with hot springs on the frontier of the infidels, and referred to it by its new Turkish name.[84] The old name Dorylaeum was forgotten by the Turks, who called the place Sultan Önü, seemingly appropriate as meaning "In front of the Sultan" (that is, a place on the border) but apparently derived from the alternative form Sultan Öyüğü, "The Sultan's Tumulus," a toponym which well reflects the nature of the site. The Byzantine fortifications were in fact built on a low hill, an ancient tumulus, about two kilometers from the hot springs which form the main attraction mentioned by ancient and modern sources. The present city of Eskişehir is built along the river, incorporating the hot

springs; the fortress lies outside in a suburb now called Sar Hüyük, "The City Mound." The sources, however, do not apply different names to these two parts of the settlement, but regularly include the hot springs and the river in Sultan Öyüğü.

Ibn Said, writing in the middle of the thirteenth century, used the Arabic form of the Turkish name, Sultanyuki, to denote the town which he described as lying eight parasangs west of Ankara and containing baths with natural springs of hot water. In his day, the land between the two cities was well cultivated.[85] The information at which he hints is given in remarkable detail by slightly later sources of considerable importance for the period immediately preceding that of Osman. The first of these is the inscription of the minaret of the Alaeddin mosque in the center of the city which proclaims that it was rebuilt by Jebrail ibn Jaja during the reign of Kaikhusraw III (1265–1284) in a year which may apparently be read as 666 (1268).[86] This shows that the city was in Seljuk (but really Mongol) hands and evidently prospering when Ertuğrul and his tribesmen were settling in the borderlands northwest of the city.

Far more significant, though, is the testament of the same governor, whose name appears as Nureddin Jebrail son of Jaja. It has survived in full to reveal a considerable amount about the city and its region.[87] This document, written in 1272, shows that the city and its region were in a flourishing state under the Mongol governor. Although the document gives grandiose titles—which fill five lines of text—to the insignificant Kaikhusraw III, then about ten years old, it is accompanied by a text in Mongolian filled with the name of witnesses including two successive governors, thus constituting a validation of the will and revealing the texts as official documents of the Ilkhanid government.[88]

The emir was concerned to set up an endowment for the mosque he had built in Sultanyuki. To judge by the property attached to it, this must have been a substantial foundation. In addition, he restored seventeen mosques which had fallen into decay, as well as a mosque in a caravansaray—where he made provision for the study of the Koran and a *zaviye*.[89] The number and variety of the establishments witness not only the wealth and generosity of the donor but the size and prosperity of the city. Sultanyuki, it seems, had at least seventeen private mosques (many of which might, of course, have been quite small) in addition to the congregational mosque of Alaeddin whose minaret the emir had restored. The caravansaray indicates substantial commercial activity in a town which had evidently made a striking recovery from the desolation of late Byzantine days during the century of

Seljuk rule. Of these monuments, only the congregational mosque has survived, and that in a completely modernized state. In the earlier years of the twentieth century, however, a bridge of apparently Seljuk origin still stood over the Sarı Su near its confluence with the Porsuk.[90]

This source dates from the time of Ertuğrul; the city also appears in association with Osman: APZ uses the name Eskişehir and mentions it as a place where Osman held a weekly market near the baths, where he had occasion to chastise a man from Germiyan; where he held Bayram prayers; and where he had his horses shod (APZ caps. 9, 14, 21). Finally, when Osman died, he left behind, among his modest possessions, a herd of horses at Sultanönü.[91] None of these indicates that Osman actually ruled the place. Sources from the next generation give less detailed but surprising information about the city. Balban, al-Umari's informant, narrates the energetic campaigns of the Mongol governor, Timurtash son of Choban, to extend his power over the Turcoman principalities of Anatolia in the 1320s. Among his conquests was the territory of Sultanyuki, described as having no real city, but sprawling villages and broad plains. The location of this land between the domain of Suleyman Paşa (who ruled Kastamonu) and that of Germiyan leave no doubt of the identification.[92] The inevitable conclusion is that Sultanyuki was the center of an independent state which occupied the northwest corner of the plateau in the last years of Osman.[93]

The contemporary traveler, Ibn Battuta, who passed through Anatolia in 1335, did not visit the town, but he did meet two of its natives. In Nicaea, he stayed in the house of the imam and jurist Alaeddin al-Sultanyuki, who introduced him to the wife of Orhan and who had visited the holy places of Arabia; and in Kastamonu he encountered the learned imam Shaykh Tajeddin al-Sultanyuki who had studied in Iraq and Persia and had likewise visited the holy cities.[94] Both were evidently natives of Sultanyuki who had settled abroad in the cities of the thriving neighboring principalities. Another local, the molla Mahmud ibn Mehmed al-Sultanoyugi, achieved even higher distinction. After studying Arabic science, the sacred law, Koran exegesis, and the tradition with the learned men of his time, and achieving distinction in all fields, he was appointed by Orhan to be *kadi* of Bursa, a role he filled with considerable distinction for many years. Late in life, Murat I sent him as head of an embassy to Germiyan. He is alleged to have been *kadi* for forty years.[95] The learning and accomplishments of these men suggest that the city had a tradition of education, some of it available locally—such as the Koran lessons in the mosque of the caravansaray—most of it sought elsewhere, evidently by families who had the resources to

send their children to travel or study abroad. These scholars may have had a special function of spreading orthodox high Islam to states and places that didn't yet have a system of Islamic education, like the Ottoman realm, whose first medrese was opened in Iznik soon after its conquest by Orhan in 1331.[96] Alternatively, the presence of these men away from home and the ambiguous comment of al-Umari about the city may indicate that greater opportunities were felt to exist in the larger adjacent states. Nevertheless, it is clear that Sultanyuki was still independent and prospering to some degree in the early years of Orhan. Here, for the first time, is direct contradiction of the tradition by contemporary sources. Their account, of course, is to be preferred, and Sultanyuki/Eskişehir seen as outside Ottoman territory at least until the reign of Orhan.

By the late fifteenth century, when some details are known from a list of *vakf* (endowment deeds) in the province, the town was known by its modern name, Sultan Öyüğü being reserved for the district; Şehir Hüyük, the site of the Byzantine castle, also appears, apparently as a separate settlement. The document mentions a *zaviye* in Eskişehir, different from that endowed by ibn Jaja.[97] The fate of Eskişehir during the next three centuries is obscure. In the late seventeenth century, it was large and prosperous, according to Evliya Çelebi. It was the capital of a *kaza*, the seat of various officials, and contained a ruined castle built by the "*tekfur* of Bursa" and captured by Osman from the Byzantines in 1331. The town consisted of seventeen mahalles, or districts, and had many mosques, some medreses (but these were not built of stone), seven each of children's schools, tekkes, and caravansarays, and a market with eight hundred shops. It had prosperous houses with gardens, and many well-dressed notables. All around the city were gardens, with roses, vineyards, and vegetables; outside it, in other gardens, was a domed stone bath, with hot water of some value for cures.[98] Some parts of this description, notably the history of the castle and the repetition of the number seven, seem conventional, but the overall impression is of considerable commercial prosperity and a large population. The seventeen districts recall the seventeen mosques restored by Jebrail ibn Jaja, and raise the possibility that the town had always been so divided. If so, its size and prosperity might have been continuous through the intervening centuries; but, lacking sources, this must remain a speculation.

The contemporary Haji Kalfa is less explicit, merely recording that Eskişehir was the seat of a *kadi*, had a small market, and contained the tomb of Sheikh Edebali.[99] European travelers are uninformative, most of them merely recording passage by or through the town which seems in their time

to have offered no more attractions than it does now. Often, however, they discuss the strategic importance of the site, and comment on its division into two discrete settlements, one around the castle, the other, with the market, near the baths.[100]

In most cases here studied, it has been possible to determine something about the existence or condition of a given town or fortress in the time of Osman, but necessarily far less about the countryside, rarely mentioned by contemporary sources. For this, the endowment deed of Jebrail ibn Jaja provides some remarkable and exceptionally apposite information. The document lists in detail the property which he left to endow his mosque; it gives not only the names of the villages involved but a striking image of local agriculture and trade.

The main property consisted of the village of Kara Gova, which was bounded by the lands of villages called Eğri Özi, Alıncık, Göç Özi, and another whose name has not been read; the village of Göç Özi which stretched to Direkli, Saru Kavak, and the road to the city; and miscellaneous property to be considered shortly.[101] The donor specified that these villages were given with everything they contained, namely: land, houses, shelters, wells, streams, fruit trees, and anything cultivated or planted; as well as anything usable such as meadows, towers, plains and hills, pasture, timber, tools, and vehicles. Although the list contains elements which are no doubt formulaic in such documents, it certainly indicates a flourishing agricultural economy.[102] The other specified items confirm the impression. They include mills, a vegetable garden, and several pieces of land; a large house with a portico and eight rooms; and two caravansarays. One of the caravansarays was given with its shops and their contents, which included cloth, and material of silk and wool.

The country was evidently well organized and exploited: mills ensured irrigation in this dry region, which could then produce fruit, vegetables, and other crops, as well as timber and pasture for animals. Property had evidently been measured and delineated on a large scale. It is not surprising, considering the strategic location of Sultanyuki, to learn that trade also was flourishing. The caravansarays in the villages, presumably on main highways, as well as that in the town, indicate the passage and presence of numerous merchants, while the contents of the shops give a hint at the goods exchanged. Wool and cloth were presumably local products, from the sheep which abounded in the region; the silk may have been brought in from outside, either from Byzantium or from one of the Seljuk cities where it was woven.[103] The caravansarays have not survived, nor others preserved

in the immediate region, but caravansarays of the thirteenth century at Seyitgazi to the southwest, and between Kütahya and Afyon to the southeast, stand on roads which lead to Eskişehir.[104]

This information is valuable enough in itself for giving an impression of conditions somewhere in the large region around Sultanyuki. Yet the document is not abstract, but gives specific names. When these are attached to a region, the details become even more vivid and striking, and gain an important implication. In fact, with the aid of a large-scale map, it is possible to identify the area in question quite precisely. The village name Eğri Özi still survives in the form Eğriöz, the only place in the whole region which bears such a name. This alone might seem a coincidence if the neighboring village were not called Alınca, which plainly represents the Alıncık of the document. Likewise, the name which the editor presented only in transcription can be read without any major change as Söğütönü, which lies immediately south of Alınca. More speculatively, Direkli, "(the place) with columns" might have been applied to the curious monument called Beş Kardeş, a group of ancient stelae on a ridge west of Eğriöz, where the route to Söğüt has long passed and Saru Kavak may be represented by the present Kavacık, immediately east of Eğriöz. In any case, it appears that Karagova, whose name does not survive, was approximately on the site of the modern Keskin.[105]

Villages of this region, as well as many others scattered through the province of Sultan Önü, appear also in a list of local *vakf*s from the time of Mehmed the Conqueror, compiled probably around 1470. Although it provides far less detail of individual sites, this document also gives an overwhelming picture of agricultural prosperity, with large numbers of villages, and extensive irrigation works.[106] It would appear that little had changed in the intervening two centuries and, in fact, the presence of thirteenth-century village names on the modern map indicates a remarkable degree of continuity in the region since the Turkish occupation. The major break had come before; the document of the fifteenth century, like the modern map, is striking in its lack of pre-Turkish toponyms. It would seem that the century of chaos and conflict between the arrival of the Turks and the Seljuk acquisition of Dorylaeum had effectively destroyed earlier traditions and provoked a major change of population.

The region thus identified lies immediately northwest and north of Eskişehir at a distance of eight to fifteen kilometers, on the slopes of mountains which separate the plain from the valley of the Sangarius, overlooking the road from Söğüt. If, as it appears, the road passed through It Burnu in Osman's time (as it did in the nineteenth century), it passed through this

district, which is thus the immediate neighbor to the homeland of the Ottomans.[107] The countryside here is drab and empty, a treeless plain and bare foothills now occupied by numerous villages. When cultivated, it is productive of wheat, but suffers from a shortage of fuel.[108] These open steppes would seem ideal for nomads, and, if one were to find them anywhere near Söğüt in the time of Osman, this land would seem the obvious place to look. Yet, on the contrary, they are conspicuous by their absence in the late thirteenth century. The peaceful agricultural existence which the will of Jebrail ibn Jaja implies testifies more than anything else to the great achievements of the Seljuks of Rum in this district, given over to nomadism when they took it from the Byzantines a century before. The country had evidently been tamed, exploited for agriculture, and kept under central control; the setting for nomads is nowhere apparent. That does not mean, of course, that nomads did not exist somewhere else in the district. They had been there in the twelfth century, and were presumably settled on the land by the Seljuks or driven out to pastures not under the control of the government, and they may well have reappeared later in more chaotic days. The notice of al-Umari about the lack of a large city and the presence of extensive pastures may hint at a revival of nomadism (though his mention of sprawling villages seems incompatible with that), but it seems not to have been a major ecological factor in the region immediately adjacent to the broad plain closest to the hills and valleys of Söğüt at the time when then ancestors of the Ottomans were settling there. Sultanyuki or Eskişehir thus appears at a center of trade and agriculture in the time of Ertuğrul when it was still subject to the authority of the Seljuks/Mongols. Later, during the reigns of Osman and Orhan, it was the capital of an independent principality which presumably still prospered, perhaps not as it had. The tradition, which attributes the conquest of Eskişehir to Osman is plainly mistaken or a fabrication. This tradition, which I generally follow here because it is by far the most detailed, is based on sources of the late fifteenth century. The earliest Turkish sources, however, whose narrative is generally too sketchy to serve as a base, give a far different account. According to Ahmedi, who wrote at the beginning of the fifteenth century, Sultanönü was conquered not by Osman or even Orhan, but by Murat I together with Ankara, and thus in 1362 at the earliest.[109] In view of the known history of the city, this later date is certainly to be preferred, and Sultanyuki/Eskişehir seen as independent (or ruled by Germiyan) through the reigns of Osman and Orhan.

The list of *vakf*s from the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror provides an indirect confirmation of a later dating. Most of the properties it lists were

donations of Mehmet II or his father Murat II, some go back to Beyazit I and a few apparently are of Murat I. Only one purports to be older, and that rouses suspicion by claiming to bear the seals of Osman and Orhan. The province of Sultan Önü thus contained a great number of properties donated or confirmed in possession by sultans of the fifteenth and late fourteenth centuries, and none prior to the reign of Murat I (1362–1389). It clearly indicates establishment of Ottoman rule by the latter, at the earliest.[110]

The discussion of these few conquests of Osman has led a long way, but may produce a history of the region, at least in outline. The district later called Sultan Önü, with its main centers of Eskişehir, Karacahisar, and İnönü, contains the broad plains which lie closest to Söğüt. It appears to have remained under precarious Byzantine control in the twelfth century, when the Comnenian emperors had to defend it against the encroachment of Turcoman nomads. The fortresses of Kandilli and Karacahisar are monuments of this age, prior to the great advance attempted by Manuel Comnenus, whose refortification of Dorylaeum represented a major effort to establish Byzantine control over this strategic region. His fortunes collapsed in the battle of Myriokephalon in 1176, after which the Seljuks immediately occupied Dorylaeum, thereafter Sultanyuki. They presumably took over the other fortresses, and consolidated their power by constructing the defenses of İnönü. Sultanyuki and its immediate region prospered under the Seljuks/Mongols through the late thirteenth century; agriculture and trade spread, nomadism was reduced.

In 1266 and 1272, the Seljuk Kaikhusraw III nominally ruled the area, but the Mongols—the Ilkhanids whose empire stretched from eastern Iran to Anatolia—were really in control. A powerful and fearsome empire stood adjacent to the insignificant realm of Ertuğrul, whose son Osman thus came to manhood in the shadow of the descendants of Genghis Khan. The installation of Germiyan in the immediately adjacent region of Kütahya in 1277 would have interposed a new power between Mongols and Ottomans especially around 1300 when Germiyan was at least temporarily in control of Ankara. A generation later, in 1326, Sultanyuki appears as the center of a state, possibly an independent principality, or possibly ruled by a cadet branch of the Germiyanids. The region, in any case, was not Ottoman, and came under their control only in the reign of Murat I. The curious inscription of İnönü seems to suggest that town remained independent somewhat later. In all this, the tradition is seriously defective or actively misleading.

1292: Köse Mihal of Harmankaya and Raids Across the Sangarius (APZ cap. 10)

Osman's frequent companion on campaigns was Köse Mihal, the Christian lord of Harmankaya. On one occasion, Osman proposed a raid on Tarakçı Yenicesi; Mihal responded with enthusiasm, suggesting a route via Sorkun, Sarıkaya, and Beştaş, where the Sangarius could be crossed. He proposed a further attack on the rich province of Mudurnu, and that Samsa Çavuş be invited to join forces with them. The Ghazis followed this plan and arrived at the tekke of Beştaş where the local sheikh told them they could cross the river.[111]

On the other side, they met Samsa Çavuş, who had originally come to Söğüt with Ertuğrul, but had moved to Mudurnu because of trouble with the infidel ruler of İnegöl. The united warriors then attacked Tarakçı Yenicesi and Göynük. From there, they moved on to Göl Kalanos before returning to Harmankaya and Karacahisar, Mihal serving as guide throughout. They took no captives, but came away with a great quantity of booty. Such campaigns were intended to bring the local people into subjection. Osman nevertheless maintained his good relations with the Christian lord of Bilecik.[112]

This narrative is of considerable significance as an account of the predatory attacks on their neighbors from which Osman and his followers may have derived a substantial part of their revenues. One of the protagonists may be real; the places certainly are, set in a wild landscape which suitably illustrates the events and the society which they imply.

The name of Köse Mihal, one of the most important early followers of Osman, suggests that he was, at least in origin, a Christian. Inscriptions and documents of the fifteenth century and later name other Mihals who have been identified, with varying degrees of plausibility, as his descendants. One of them, Gazi Mihal, founded a mosque in Edirne in 1422 and was buried next to it. His family and descendants were active in the conquest of Rumeli and in the service of later sultans. Their connection with Köse Mihal, however, seems highly specu1ative.[113]

The case of Mihal Beg of Gölpazar is more germane. This worthy erected a complex (to be considered next) including a caravansaray whose inscription indicates the rather elevated titles he employed when the building was founded in 1418.[114] Documents of the late sixteenth century reveal that he, there called Gazi Mihal Beg, controlled a large area north of the Sangarius with many specified villages. At that time, the property was in the hands of

Boyali Mehmet Pasha, vezir and beylerbey of Aleppo, who died in 1593. His grandfather had bought it from the heirs of the grandson of Mihal Beg, a lapse of time which indicates identity of this man with the builder of the caravansaray.[115] The large territory and the titles which Mihal claimed show that he was a man of considerable wealth and influence in the district.

Since this Gazi Mihal lived in the early fifteenth century, he is clearly not Köse Mihal, but some connection seems inevitable, for he had the same name and lived in the same area. Gölpazar is some twenty kilometers northwest of Harmankaya (in a straight line which cannot be followed on the ground), and many of the villages of the sixteenth-century document can be identified. They show that Mkhal Beg controlled the Sangarius valley from a point northeast of Söğüt and about fifteen kilometers from it, eastward to Gömele (now called Mihalgazi), which is at the longitude of Eskişehir. His lands stretched north to include Harmankaya and Sorgun. This is the homeland of Köse Mihal, and immediately adjoins that of Ertuğrul and Osman. The whole area was associated with the family of Mihal, evidently a large and powerful one, for the *vakf* register of Sultanönü of 1472 identifies Gömele as "Mihallerde" that is, "among (the lands of) the Mihals."[116]

This close connection raises the obvious possibility that Mihal Beg was a descendant of Köse Mihal, a supposition generally accepted, with the later Mihal considered as the grandson of the earlier. Although this presumes remarkably long generations, the line of descend seems plausible enough until further reflection invites skepticism. Neither Mihal of Gölpazar not his namesake of Edirne makes any reference to ancestors beyond the preceding generation, an exceptionally curious circumstance if either was descended from one of the most famous figures in their history.[117] This means that the existence of Köse Mihal is attested only in the tradition.

Parallels from early Roman history suggest a different solution, not encouraging for the historicity of Köse Mihal. Roman historiography in its formative stage was greatly influenced by patrons in the late Republic who were fond of seeing their ancestors in a prominent role in the past, where they could oblige the historian by filling the uncomfortable void before written records. Many people and events were thus retrojected, only slightly changed, to provide a coherent and continuous narrative from the earliest days. Such a process seems indicated here. The powerful family of the Mihalloğulları dominated the area around the Sangarius at the very moment when Aşıkpaşazade was staying in Geyve (about thirty kilometers due north of Gölpazar) and learning much of his history from Yahşı Fakih. They could have made their influence felt on the tradition, even supplying material to

the historian or his informants. Alternatively, the Mihaloğulları of Edirne, who were far more prominent in court circles, could have imposed a real or imagined connection with Harmankaya on the tradition while it was being organized in the capital. The shadowy figure thus created could have had no greater glory than to have been a companion of Osman; his Christian origin (and subsequent fortunate conversion to Islam) could have been merely derived from his plainly Greek name. These, of course, are mere suppositions, but no more unfounded than the existence of a historical Köse Mihal.[118]

Whatever the historicity of Mihal, the scenes of his activity existed, and contain remains of some interest. His home, Harmankaya, is represented by the village of Harmanköy which stands at the northern end of an isolated valley surrounded by mountains. Most spectacular among them is the sheer rock face of the so-called Harmankaya, which rises several hundred feet directly behind the village (Fig. 1.14). It towers so far above the level of the surrounding hills that it is clearly visible from the tomb of Ertuğrul outside Söğüt, giving rise to local stories about communication by signal between Osman and Mihal. Although isolated and difficult of access, the valley lies on routes which connect the Sangarius (and Söğüt) with the plain of Gölpazar and the region of Taraklı and Göynük. The approach from the south rises up a long and steep pass, suddenly offering a breathtaking view

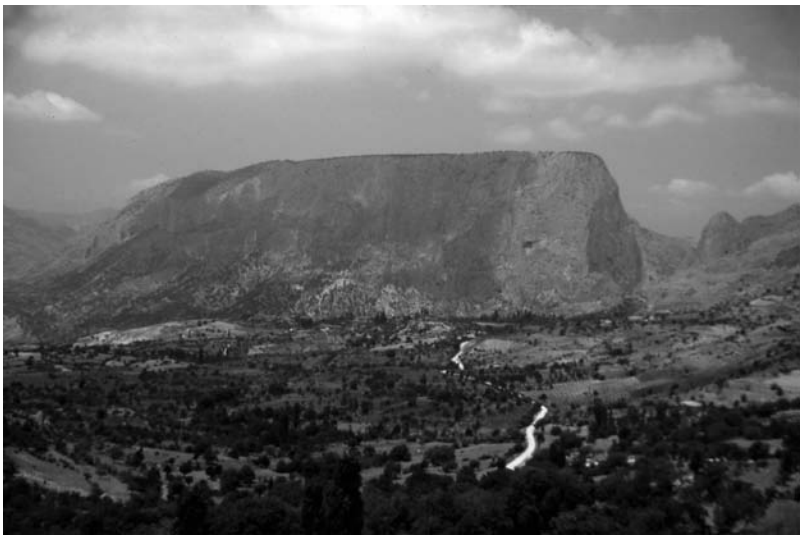

Fig. 1.14 Harmankaya, home of Mihal

of the valley far below and the sheer cliff behind. To the northeast, an equally steep climb leads through rough mountain country with hardly any flat or open ground and only an occasional village until a watershed is crossed and the country becomes softer and greener, gently sloping toward the marshy plain of Gölpazar. The road to the northeast, which I have not followed, is supposed to be equally steep and rough as far as the town of Yenipazar.

The valley of Harmankaya lies at an average altitude of 1000 meters and is well-cultivated, much of it orchards of fruit and nut trees which flourish in its cool climate. The villagers here (as in Gömele on the Sangarius) said that they kept no livestock because the small area of cultivable land barely sufficed to grow enough food for themselves. In earlier days, when agriculture and communications were less advanced, the local economy would no doubt have been marginal, supporting only a small population, cut off from the rest of the world for two or three months during the winter.

Remains of a "Byzantine" fortification at the foot of the Harmankaya have been reported and illustrated.[119] Fragments of antiquity were manifest in and around the village. In one place, numerous spoils seem to indicate the presence of a Roman building, while carved stones and inscriptions of that period were preserved in the village fountain, and at a tomb in fields outside the village.[120] The tomb, a simple burial in a walled enclosure, is traditionally that of Köse Mihal. It is evidently of some antiquity, and incorporates spoils of the Roman period, but there seems no way to establish its date. In any case the remains show that the site was long inhabited, and was a sufficiently prosperous town under the Romans to erect stone buildings and carve inscriptions. A Byzantine period may be indicated by the remains of the castle; the tomb provides equivocal evidence at best for the early Ottomans.

Osman and Köse Mihal followed a route to the region of Mudurnu which led through Sorkun and Sarıkaya, crossing the Sangarius at Beştaş. They returned via Harmankaya to Karacahisar whence, presumably, they had started. One fixed point is Sorkun, whose identification with Çöte east of Yenipazar and northeast of Harmankaya—on the route to Taraklı and Göynük is determined by the sixteenth-century list of property of Gazi Mihal.[121] The other toponyms pose a more complicated problem. There is indeed a prominent rock called Sarıkaya overlooking the Sangarius a few kilometers west of Gömele, but the name is common. Beştaş has apparently vanished, but its existence is attested in the fifteenth century, when the vakf document of Sultanönü lists a farm held by the daughter of the dervish of Beştaş.[122] The dervish would have inhabited the tekke, or dervish convent, of the tradition, and his existence leaves no doubt that such an

establishment existed somewhere on the Sangarius at a point where the river could be crossed.[123]

The name, "Five Stones" suggests an ancient ruin, for which such a casual designation is common.[124] In fact, a ruin of the right kind was visible in a suitable place at the end of the nineteenth century. Major von Diest in his account of this part of the Sangarius valley, mentions the foundations of a bridge on the right bank of the river just below the crag of Bozaniç Kaya east of Gömele.[125] It has been associated with an ancient road between Eskişehir and Göynük, and indeed in von Diest's day one of the few roads through the ranges north and south of the Sangarius, from Eskişehir to Yenipazar and beyond, crossed the river at this point.[126] In this whole district, the river is deep, its current strong. Because of the difficulty in fording, a bridge is virtually a necessity. The traditional account suggests that no bridge was standing, but even in ruin its piers could have been suitable for supporting a wooden structure or for anchoring ropes by which a crossing mechanism could be pulled. Ibn Battuta describes such a system, in which passengers and goods were placed on a kind of raft which was pulled across the river by men on the opposite side, on the Sangarius near Mekece.[127] Although the tekke has gone, this site would have been the best place for crossing the river in Osman's time. His campaign would thus have advanced from here along the Sangarius below Sarıkaya and through the pass which the modern road follows to Hermankaya and beyond.

The central Sangarius valley has a wild and romantic character, with a feeling of isolation from the rest of the world, for the river here provides no easy means of communication (Fig. 1.15). This section is totally different from the lower course of the river with its good route through broad plains; that begins at the confluence with the Karasu and will be described next. South of the Roman bridge near the confluence, the Sangarius passes for more than twenty kilometers through a series of narrow gorges with precipitous side which makes its course impossible to follow and necessitate long and difficult detours.[128] The river enters these near Karaviran, a village northwest of Söğüt and two hours from it (in von Diest's time) by a mountain path. From here, for seventy kilometers to the east, the valley is consistently about a kilometer wide, gradually rising from 180 to 230 meters altitude. The rich silt enables many crops to be grown, with the aid of irrigation from the river; von Diest described a luxuriant subtropical vegetation with mulberry, fig, cherry, walnut, and plane trees and many vineyards. Yet the land is limited, and now allows for no surplus; the locals, as at Harmankaya, keep no livestock. The narrow valley gives the impression of a

Fig. 1.15 The Sangarius valley, west of Inhisar

long, isolated basin surrounded by mountains which rise steeply from its sides. Many high detached hills of fantastic shape dominate the landscape, most notable among them Bozaniç Kaya near Gömele (Fig. 1.16). Von Diest climbed its steep flanks to discover a fortification of polygonal masonry without mortar, but reported nothing medieval.[129] At that time, the valley was sparsely inhabited—the largest town, Inhisar, had a population of 900—and contained numerous remains, inscriptions, and coins. But for Osman, like his successors until modern times, the valley was a place to be crossed, not otherwise of significance. To some extent, this seems surprising, since the great difference in altitude between the valley and Söğüt would seem to make it a suitable winter pasture for nomads; but the sources are silent on this aspect.

The places which Osman and Mihal attacked are well-known towns of some size located, like most of those here studied, in a rough broken country, yet on a major line of communication. TARAKLI, the westernmost, is the Tarakçı Yenicesi of the tradition, an identity established by the similarity of name and the appropriate location (Fig. 1.17). It appears in history in the fourteenth century when Ibn Battuta described it as a large and fine town called Yanija (i.e., Yenice). It then lay in the territories of Orhan and had a governor with a body of troops from whom an escort was provided for the travelers. Ibn Battuta and his party lodged in the hospice of the local *akhis*, whose presence suggests that the place had become Muslim.[130] The town, in a basin surrounded by hills, lies beneath a small round hill suitable for the

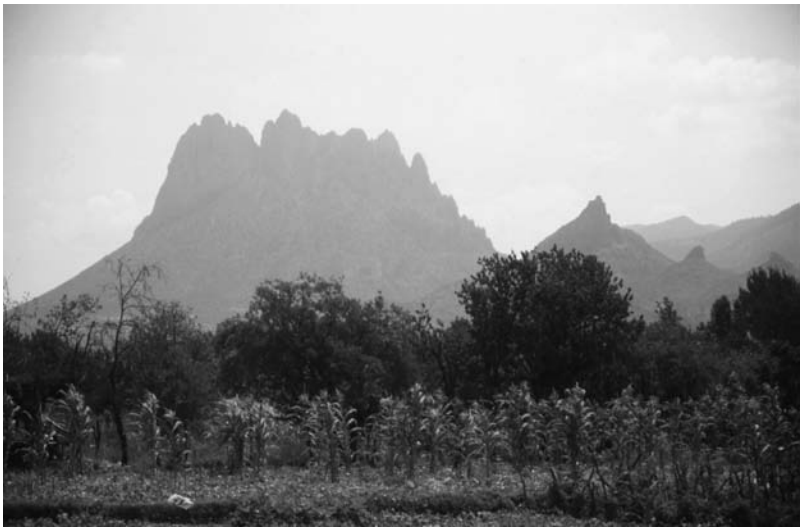

Fig. 1.16 Bozaniçkaya on the Sangarius

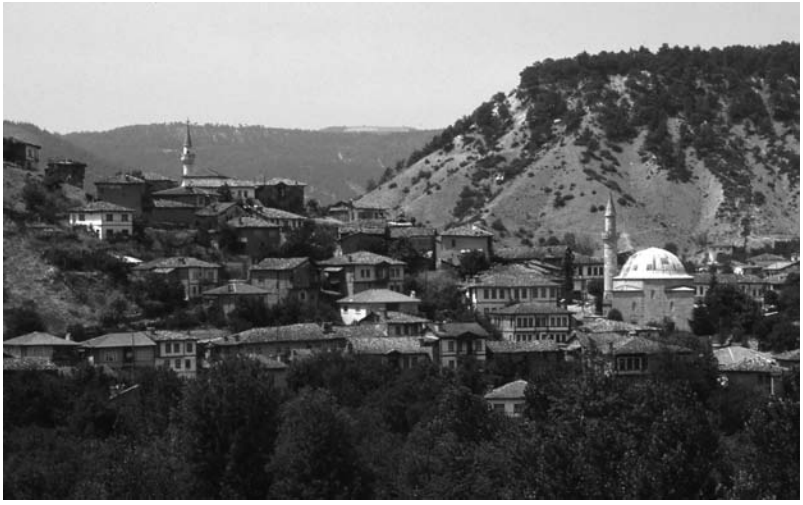

Fig. 1.17 Taraklı, a goal of raids

fortification which Evliya Çelebi described as built by the *tekfur* of Bursa and captured by Osman; it was ruined in his day.[131] If this description is more than conventional, it indicates a Byzantine fort; but no remains have survived, nor is the ancient or medieval name known. The site was already occupied in antiquity, for Kinneir in 1814 saw broken shafts and capitals of

pillars (which are no longer in evidence).[132] The most prominent monument now is a large mosque of the sixteenth century, which indicates an importance continuing into Ottoman times.

The location of Taraklı is remote, the country rough. A passable road leads from Geyve on the Sangarius, soon rising through ever higher hills, with long views back over the river valley. The country rapidly becomes more broken and enclosed, with forests and occasional stretches of farmland. Most of the route is empty and seemingly desolate, but cultivation far up the slopes indicates the presence of numerous villages hidden in small valleys and basins. For most of the distance from Geyve, the stark crag of Karakaya is constantly visible, typifying a landscape which reminded General von der Goltz of views of Herzegovina in the illustrated papers of his day. He heard stories of bandits who infested the region, a danger no doubt endemic to most periods.[133] A similar road leads eastward to Göynük. This, too, climbs and drops sharply as it passes through difficult broken country with extensive forests on hills of highly eroded conglomerate. The erosion has produced much good soil for the valley which the road follows. Here, too, dramatic scenery, bad roads, and bandits occupied the attention of earlier travelers.[134]

GÖYNÜK is a substantial and highly picturesque town with elegant timbered houses lining the slopes above the confluence of two streams (Fig. 1.18). When Ibn Battuta came, it was inhabited by Greeks, with only one household of Muslims, that of Orhan's governor. The town then had no trees or vineyards but produced only saffron.[135] Evliya Çelebi reported an empty ruined castle of the *tekfur* of Bursa, conquered by Osman in 1312.[136] This has not survived, but the account of Ibn Battuta shows that Göynük was a Byzantine settlement, no doubt meriting defense by a castle. Earlier remains indicate a history which goes back to the Romans, while substantial Ottoman buildings and travelers' accounts show that the place long retained its importance. Among them the mosque and bath of Suleyman Pasha in the center of the town were probably not built in 1331–1335 as claimed, for the contemporary description of Ibn Battuta indicates that there was then no Muslim population to use them. They are, however, monuments of an early Ottoman period.[137]

Two roads lead east from Göynük: one, followed by most travelers who constantly complain of its difficulty, to Nallıhan and Ankara, the other, northeast to Mudurnu and Bolu. This passes through forests on steep hillsides and a region with small deep lakes before reaching a valley which gradually becomes broader and more fertile as it opens out into the plain of

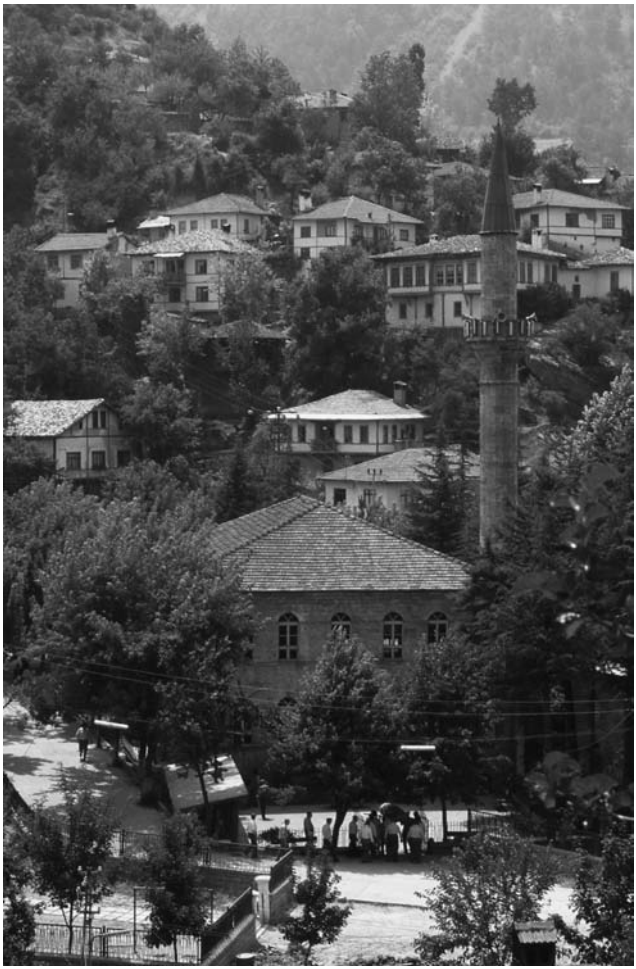

Fig. 1.18 Göynük, once an emirate

Mudurnu. Around midpoint, it passes through near the village of Genbemüz which has an old mosque and bath attributed to Samsa Çavuş. Although the buildings are not of such an age, their presence suggests a long tradition identifying the homeland of this shadowy figure.[138]

In the winter of 1333, Ibn Battuta followed this route through steep slopes and mountains and along a river which he crossed more than thirty times. At this point, his guide demanded money, then decamped leaving the travelers stranded since the route was obliterated by snow. They found a great quantity

of stones which indicated the road, perhaps the remains of ancient paving, but could make no further progress. Finally, Ibn Battuta set off by himself and providentially found a hospice whose sheikh rescued and lodged the party. The following day they reached Mudurnu, where the hospice of the akhis was full, but they did have the good fortune to meet a native of the town who had made the pilgrimage of Mecca and spoke Arabic. He led them to the bazaar where they could tie up their horses and buy supplies.[139]

MUDURNU, as described by Ibn Battuta, was evidently a prosperous town with a market and at least one citizen rich enough to have made the pilgrimage and, as it turned out, to act as a not very honest local moneylender. It had succeeded the Byzantine Modrene, about which virtually nothing is known except that it had a bishop, and was therefore a city, apparently the most important place in these parts. It prospered then as now from the fertile agricultural land and extensive forests around, and from is location at the crossing of routes to Bolu, Ankara, and the plan of Adapazar. Of these, only the route to Bolu is relatively easy, for the town stands in a basin surrounded by mountains. Monuments of the late fourteenth century—a large mosque and bath of Beyazit I—attest to its importance under the early Ottomans.

The town clusters at the foot of two hills (Fig. 1.19). One of them, steep, elliptical, and detached from the surrounding ridges, contains the remains of fortifications. These comprise a stretch of wall, with fragments of towers,

Fig. 1.19 Mudurnu, once a bishopric

all consistently built of mortared rubble slightly more regular on the face than in the core. They are extensively bonded with wooden beams, but use no brick. Such an indeterminate style is difficult to date; since it seems to correspond with nothing Byzantine, the walls may be assigned to an early Ottoman period. There is in any case no reason to doubt that the town was in existence and worth raiding in the time of Osman.

The goals of this raid were not chosen at random, but all have in common a location on a major highway. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it formed part of the main route between Istanbul and Ankara and was followed by numerous travelers. They were universally distressed by the difficulty, for the road was by then in bad condition and the country it passed exceedingly rough. The problems of Ibn Battuta show that the situation was hardly different in the fourteenth century, but once, it seems, the road has been paved. The stones of Ibn Battuta no doubt correspond with the traces of Roman paving observed by Lieutenant Anton in 1893 in Tarakli and between there and Geyve.[140] In that case, the route had a long past; it would plainly have been used in the time of Osman.

Location of these places on a highway has another significance, with implications about Osman and his activities. The towns were centers of trade, with travelers and caravans passing along the road. They were thus the natural goals of a predatory raid, for not only might rich booty be available, but the rough country would enable the raiders to strike without warning and to disappear with little danger of being followed. Osman and Mihal did not choose those places by chance, but were raiding a strategic area outside their domains and doubtless still inhabited by prosperous infidels. The example of Göynük shows that Islam penetrated these hills only gradually from the more populous areas to the east and west. Samsa Çavuş, if he existed, would have been a local mountain chief like Gazi Mihal. It is hardly an accident that travelers complain so frequently of bandits in this country, for so must the ghazis have seemed to the neighbors they robbed.

In their return, after inflicting damage on Göynük and Taraklı the warriors descended to a place variously called Göl Flanoz or Göl Kalanos. This has been plausibly identified with Gölpazar, known merely as Göl in the sixteenth century. The second name has been explained as that of a local Christian chief, corresponding to Kalanos, brother of the *tekfur* of Karaca Hisar already mentioned. GÖL PAZAR is the largest town of the region north of the Sangarius, a prosperous market and administrative center. It lies in a broad and fertile plain, still somewhat marshy where the lake, from which it derives its name, has been drained. In 1893, von Diest

described the lake as surrounded by swamps and the plain as almost uncultivated presumably because it had an unhealthy situation; agriculture and villages were in the neighboring hills and valleys. Such a circumstance is common to many parts of the whole region, where plains now fertile and densely populated were once marshy and desolate.

Whatever the state of its territory, there is no doubt that Göl Pazar has long been of some importance because of its location on the main Roman highway between Constantinople and the east, the so-called Pilgrim's Road whose course through here is clearly defined by milestones.[141] Although not mentioned after the late fourth century, and replaced in Ottoman times by the route through Tarakli and Göynük, there is no doubt that this road was in constant use in the early fifteenth century. Its importance then is attested by the caravansaray of Mihal Beg completed in 1418 as part of a complex which included a mosque[142] (Fig. 1.20). Thus, the town was by then Muslim, and a center of trade and transit. These buildings, the largest in the region, would seem to indicate Göl Pazar as the headquarters of Mihal. Nothing is known of the previous thousand years, but the town was probably sufficiently prosperous in the century before Mihal to merit an attack.

This simple account of a raid had led a long way, illustrating the tradition and putting it to a test. Köse Mihal may have been not a historical figure but the reflection of a later namesake powerful in the region. Samsa Çavuş, likewise, need not have existed, though he did become the subject of local

Fig. 1.20 Caravansaray of Mihal beg at Gölpazar

tradition. Both, however, are set in real places whose characteristics are significant. First, they are remote, in a difficult mountain country not capable of supporting a large population of men or beasts unless in conditions of peace and good communications. Even the central Sangarius valley offers limited possibilities, being functionally as isolated as the rest. Local people might seek elsewhere for profit, and turn naturally to the towns situated on the major route of trade which passed just to the north through Gölpazar or through Taraklı and Göynük. Predation, as the sources clearly reveal, could have played a significant role in the life of such chiefs as Osman and Köse Mihal who only differed in that the former came from a place on a highway, his companion from a more remote district. Predation, of course, is as compatible with a nomad as a settled existence, perhaps more so; yet the country hardly offered scope for much nomadism. If the population were small, transhumance between the Sangarius and the high basin of Harmankaya, for example, might have supplemented the agricultural life of the rest, but the present situation suggests that it might have been a luxury in a region with so little arable land. In the chaos which accompanied the fall of Byzantium, and no doubt always characterized a frontier region such as this, existence was probably marginal, and raids a necessary supplement to the normal means of livelihood. The places raided, on the other hand, were settled and apparently prosperous from trade. In all this, the traditional account makes sense in the landscape, whatever the value of its details.

"1288": Marriages and Massacre: APZ 11–12

This episode begins with the marriage of Köse Mihal's daughter to the lord of Göl Flanoz. All the neighboring infidels and *tekfur*s, as well as Osman, are invited. Osman arrives last, bringing (typically nomadic) presents of rugs, kilims, and flocks of sheep. The *tekfur*s, amazed by his bravery, see him as a potential threat, but they find no occasion to seize him. Ostensibly, Osman maintains close friendship with the *tekfur* of Bilecik, but in fact they are suspicious of each other. Nevertheless, Osman continues to entrust his valuables to the castle of Bilecik.

The *tekfur* of Bilecik plans to marry the daughter of the *tekfur* of Yarhisar and invites all the neighboring *tekfur*s as well as Osman. Warned by Mihal to be on his guard, Osman suggests that the *tekfur* move the celebrations from Bilecik, a narrow place, to Çakır Pınar, a suggestion the *tekfur* accepts. On the night before the wedding, Osman's men, hidden in the wagons that

were bringing his property, kill the guards, and seize the castle. Others, dressed in women's clothing, enter into the celebrations. Osman then rides off, followed by the drunken *tekfur*, to Kaldırık, a valley near Bilecik, where he decapitates the *tekfur*. In the morning, he captures the *tekfur* of Yarhisar, with his bride and the wedding guests. Osman sends Turgut Alp to İnegöl where the Turks kill its *tekfur* and his men, making captives of the women, getting revenge on a man who had been responsible for the death of many Muslims.

These activities represent a major advance from the hills of Söğüt to the plains of İnegöl and Yenişehir, laying the basis for a serious threat to the security and communications of Byzantine Bithynia. Bilecik was the key. Having it in his own hands rather than those of the previously friendly but now treacherous *tekfur* opened the way for expansion west to the plains or north to the Sangarius. When APZ narrates Osman's proposal to the *tekfur* to move his celebrations from the confines of Bilecik to Çakır Pınar, he shows a striking knowledge of local conditions, for the road leading west from Bilecik almost immediately leaves the rugged mountains for more open rolling hills with cultivated fields and scattered woods on the five mile stretch to Çakır Pınar (which itself preserves no monuments of this period) (Fig. 1.21). Kaldırık Dere, where the *tekfur* was killed, has not been identified, but presumably lay between Çakır Pınar and Bilecik. Further west, the rough country resumes until the plain of İnegöl is reached, about ten kilometers from the town. In Evliya's time, this road passed through prosperous villages on mountains and slopes, but was dangerous because of bandits.

YARHISAR was evidently an important place at this time. The modern village sits amid high hills which start to rise soon after the road leaves Yenişehir to the southeast (Fig. 1.22). Yarhisar is distinguished by its mosque of Orhan, a roofed rectangular structure with a veranda overlooking the village, its masonry very regular and its minaret described as one of the finest of the period[143] (Fig. 1.23). On the rocky butte above, the French team found walls of mortared rubble and brick, with pottery of the thirteenth century, suggesting that this was a fortress of the Lascarids or their immediate successors.[144] Despite its apparent importance, Yarhisar seems not to be mentioned by travelers. Instead, a major road led south from Yenişehir with a stopping point at Akbıyık, some five miles southwest of Yarhisar. This was the route used by Suleiman the Magnificent and his army on their way to campaign in Iraq in 1534 and by Hans Dernschwam twenty-one years later.[145] Dernschwam complained about the bad road with constant

Fig. 1.21 Çakır Pınar

Fig. 1.22 Yarhisar

Fig. 1.23 Yarhisar: Orhan's mosque

rises and descents through rocky mountains covered with scrub oak most of the way to the plain of Ermeni Pazar, a description that would suit Yarhisar.

"1299": Osman Proclaims his Independence: APZ 14–15

This momentous event supposedly took place not in the new conquests but in Karaca Hisar, which was empty at the time of the conquest. Osman resettled it, converted churches into mosques and established markets. The people asked for a Friday mosque and a kadi (religious judge). They wanted the pious Dursun Fakih but he told Osman that he would need permission from the Seljuk Sultan. Osman rejected this, saying that he had conquered the land with his own hand and had no need for any sultan. So Dursun Fakih became kadi and led the prayers for Osman that symbolized independence. Osman established a tax on market transactions (according to the story he was totally innocent of taxation) and distributed lands to his

followers in hereditary *timar*s, land grants from which they would provide fighting men when needed.

Osman's *Timar*s: APZ 16

Osman consolidated his conquests by distributing them among his followers to administer. The oldest conquests, Karacahisar and İnönü, went to his son Orhan.

Others received Yar Hisar, İnegöl, and Bilecik. Osman himself chose Yenişehir where he took up residence and had houses built for his followers. This was a new town, the capital of a new realm.

Orhan now began to strike out in all directions together with his father. They descended on Iznik and the Marmara region, bringing the infidels there into submission. Several times, they attacked Köprü Hisar, but only later conquered it. After each raid, they returned to Yenişehir.

YENIŞEHIR, "New City." Osman's new capital is now a dusty sprawling town, at the edge of a large and fertile plain. Dernschwam remarked on a curious rectangular tower of three stories with vaults all round and the large caravansaray that reflected the volume of trade that passed through.[146] For Evliya in the next century, it was a thriving town with 1600 houses, seven mosques, a soup kitchen, a covered market, and 150 dependent villages.[147] In fact, Yenişehir preserves a bath traditionally attributed to Osman and a mosque, a medrese, a monumental tomb, and a dervish lodge from the time of Orhan.[148]

Yenişehir sits in the northern part of a plain that extends east and west and is only separated from the plain of İnegöl to the south by a series of dry ridges. It is a strategic location, with roads leading to Nicaea over a steep mountain pass, to Lefke and the Sangarius along the valley of the Göksu, to Bilecik where the plain yields to rugged mountains, and to Bursa over ridges that separate the two large plains. For many, the plain of Yenişehir supported extensive cultivation of grain: Dernschwam found it rich but poorly cultivated because of the laziness of the Turks; for MacFarlane it was "magnificent expanse of the finest of corn lands." To some extent, this was a deceptive image. Dernschwam gives a hint by noting a swamp or lake he saw as he traveled up into the hills. Pococke reported a great lake extending over the plain, becoming a morass overgrown with reeds in the summer.[149] For Texier, Yenişehir was built on the shore of a swampy lake, and Mordtmann reported that the swampy plain made the neighborhood unhealthy.

MacFarlane noted that French maps showed a lake where there was no lake at all. In modern times, the town was famed for a rich clotted cream (*kaymak*) made from the milk of water buffalo, beasts who thrive in soggy or marshy landscapes.[150] This phenomenon of disappearing lakes is typical of the region: depressions between ridges tend to be poorly drained, so that water accumulates, producing temporary swamps or lakes.[151]

Lake or not, the communications of the site made Yenişehir a suitable location for the headquarters of a leader whose ambitions stretched toward Byzantium.

KÖPRÜ HISAR, some five miles east of Yenişehir at the edge of the plain defends a river crossing and the road that leads over the mountains to the Sangarius valley through sharply rising terrain that passes Balcık Hisar, in a broad yayla high above Lefke. Köprü Hisar has the bridge that gives it its name, an old hammam, and remains of fortification walls of brick and mortared rubble, which would have enabled it to resist Osman's and Orhan's attacks.[152]

"1302": Defeating a Coalition: APZ 17

Evidently realizing that they were under serious threat from the Turks established at Yenişehir, the commanders of the Bursa region organized a joint campaign. The *tekfur*s of Adranos, Bidnos, Kestel, and Kite advanced from the plain of Bursa through the hill country that led toward Yenişehir. Osman gathered his forces at Koyun Hisar and moved on to Dimboz where he gained a decisive victory. Although his nephew Aydoğdu fell, the *tekfur*s were devastated: Kestel was killed, Bursa retired behind his own powerful walls, and Adranos fled the scene as did Kite whom Osman pursued far to the west, to Ulubad. Osman threatened the local *tekfur* with a devastating attack unless he turned over the ruler of Kite. Ulubad agreed on terms that neither Osman nor his descendants cross over the great bridge over the Macestus river, an agreement that Aşıkpaşazade recounts was still observed in his own time (but the Ottomans did cross the river in boats). As a result, Kite's *tekfur* was killed and his fortress taken by Osman. This victory, called the campaign of Dimboz, brought Ottoman control far to the west, posing a potential threat to Bursa, for Kite lies some 15km west of the city, potentially controlling the roads that lead to the Dardanelles and interior Mysia.

Once again, these are all real places. ADRANOS is the farthest from the main scene of activity. To reach Bursa, its forces had to advance through

rolling hills with cultivated fields, then pine woods and through a spectacular pass—a break in the massive granite rocks of Kapulu Kaya—before a rough descent to the Bursa plain. The town itself, on an isolated hill by the river Rhyndacus, stood some two kilometers from the ancient site of Hadrianoi, whose name it preserves. Its castle, of about 70 × 100 meters with twelve towers and circuit walls over eight meters high, is now in ruins, as it was when Hamilton saw it in 1836. Its brick and rubble construction, as well as pottery found on the site, are consistent with a Lascarid date. The rough mountain road to Bursa was well protected by two castles—near Kesterlek whose brick and stone masonry resembled Ulubad, and at Kermasti where Texier reported a Byzantine fort.[153]

BITNOS has not been located with certainty, though one document of the sixteenth century names a Bednos Alani in the region of İnegöl.[154]

KESTEL, on the other hand, is well known. On the edge of the plain about halfway between Dimboz and Bursa, its partially preserved walls employ mortared rubble with brick courses in a style appropriate to the Lascarids. It was already in ruins when Evliya Çelebi visited in 1672. He curiously writes that Orhan conquered it in 753 (1352). It was a more important site than at first appears, for MacFarlane pointed out that the ridge where Kestel sits commanded the pass for the only road that led into the interior of Asia Minor. It was "crowned by the picturesque ruins of a castle, a work of the Lower Empire."[155]

The fortress of KITE, in the plain sixteen kilometers west of Bursa, consists of a well-preserved pentagonal structure some 130m on its longest side.[156] Hasluck described it as having triangular, pentagonal, and U-shaped towers and only one gate. Its homogenous construction of rubble with irregular bands of brick would suit the Lascarid period; pottery points to the early fourteenth century. It has been identified (perhaps wrongly) by similarity of name with Katoikia.[157]

The location of ULUBAT made it a suitable goal for Osman, though this time he threatened rather than conquered (Fig. 1.24). The fortress is second in size (475 × 150m) only to Bursa in this region, and controls the strategic crossing of the Rhyndacus river (Koca dere) where it issues from Lake Apolyont.[158] Its stone Roman bridge avoids a detour around the lake, a three-day march. The relatively well-preserved walls are the product of the Byzantine emperor John Comnenus (1118–1143), built to consolidate his control of the region against the Turkish attacks that had menaced it. Towers and walls share a common masonry of courses of mortared rubble alternating with bands of brick, typical of the twelfth century. This fortress, key to

Fig. 1.24 The walls of Ulubat/Lopadion

the fertile Mysian plains as well as the major road into the interior, only became Ottoman in the reign of Orhan.

This campaign, then, makes sense. It involves places that existed in Osman's time and reveals a plausible Byzantine strategy to maintain control of the plain of Bursa and of the roads that led to the coast as well as the interior—and of Osman's desire to consolidate his realm based on Yenişehir and to open the possibility of expansion westward into the large and fertile plain of Bursa.

Bursa Blockaded: APZ 18

The victory of Dimboz posed a threat to Bursa that became material in the next episode. Osman, realizing that the powerfully fortified city could not be taken by storm (and it was unlikely that the Turks possessed sophisticated siege equipment), ordered the construction of two blockading forts, one by the hot springs west of the city, the other on the opposite side.[159] The purpose of these was cut Bursa off from its countryside, as well as from sources of reinforcement. They made it impossible for the infidel even to stick a finger outside the castle walls. But it would be many years before the Turks could take Bursa.

"1304": Conquest of Malagina: APZ 20

This campaign took Osman and his followers through a spectacularly scenic region, the heavily fortified valley of the Sangarius. Osman, encouraged by his constant victories, decided on further adventure. After receiving Mihal's conversion to Islam, he led his forces to Leblebicihisar, whose *tekfur* submitted without a fight. So did the *tekfur*s of Lefke and Çadırlı. They turned their lands over to Osman who entrusted a small fort near Lefke at the mouth of the valley of the Yenişehir river to his senior commander Samsa Çavuş. Osman then moved on to accept the surrender of the *tekfur* of Mekece who joined him in attacking Akhisar where, after hard fighting, its *tekfur* took refuge in Kara Cebiş Hisar, a fort high above the Sangarius. Next, the *tekfur* of Geyve decamped for Koru Dere where he was captured and brought to Osman along with much loot. Finally, the ghazis took Tekur Pınar. Osman stayed more than a month in the region, distributing the conquered lands to his followers and ensuring peace and security for the population. Aşıkpaşazade claimed that the land remained unchanged until his own time.

Although a couple of identifications remain in doubt, this is a coherent account of an attack on the strategic central Sangarius valley, moving from south to north. The first fortress, though, poses a problem: the only LEBLEBICIHISAR known was a ruined castle in the district of Göl Pazar, cited in a document of 1607.[160] At first sight, this is far off any rational route that Osman might take from Yenişehir, though not impossible if he were starting out from Söğüt or Bilecik. Proceeding north from either of those through rough mountain country would take him to the western part of the lands of Gölpazar which, in the time of the document, stretched as far as the Sangarius. Leblebicihisar, then, may be sought in the valley upstream from Lefke.

LEFKE, which preserves the name of Byzantine Leukai, was a prosperous town with 600 houses, five mosques and a small square castle, ruined when Evliya Çelebi passed through.[161] The fort, which has left no trace, presumably stood on the broad hill that rises high above the Sangarius and contains a street of elegant Ottoman houses. The place was famous for its quinces—as the valley still is. The location is strategic, for it commands roads along the Sangarius, to Yenişehir via the valley of the Göksu, and over a pass to Nicaea.

ÇADIRLI has not been located, but an identification can be suggested. General von der Goltz recorded what he called the remains of a Roman castle then known as Eski Kale, on the right bank of the Sangarius about eight

kilometers downstream from Lefke.[162] The location close to Lefke and protecting the approach to that city's small plain from the north makes it a candidate for the Çadırlı of the text.

The small fort at the mouth of the valley of the Yenişehir Su (now called Göksu), which came to be named for Samsa Çavuş has been plausibly identified with the fortress variously called Iki Kule or KULELER, about five kilometers upstream on a ridge over a wide spot in the valley of the Göksu where there is a bridge (Fig. 1.25). Its towers feature a distinctive masonry that finds its counterpart in thirteenth century walls of Nicaea, a date that conforms with the pottery found there.[163]

Returning to the Sangarius, MEKECE was protected by a small (30 × 70m) poorly preserved castle about two kilometers west of the modern village.[164] Von der Goltz reported it as a Byzantine fort rebuilt by the Turks; pottery is of the early fourteenth century. This fort, which controlled passage along the left bank of the Sangarius, offers a first view of one of the most distinctive and important features of the region, the broad plain that stretches some twenty-five kilometers along both banks of the river, from Mekece to Lefke.

This plain, known as Malagina, played a major role in the military history of Byzantium. It was the place where armies were mustered on their way

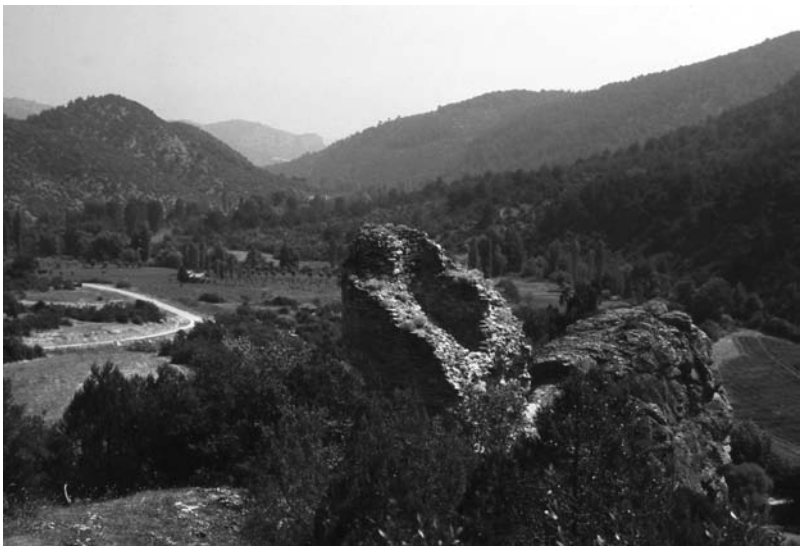

Fig. 1.25 The fort of Iki Kule

east, the seat of the imperial stables and by the thirteenth-century headquarters of a province of its own. It is the largest open space in this stretch of the Sangarius, for the river otherwise passes through a series of gorges from Harmankaya to the plain of Adapazar, east of Lake Sapanca. The fertile plain at Lefke is an exception, but on a small scale. Such a strategic area called for serious defenses; they centered on the powerfully built castle of Metabole, on a rise that reaches an elevation of 600m providing superb views over the Malagina plain and the mountains beyond[165] (Fig. 1.26). The steep hill, combined with a ridge that protects and conceals it from below, make it difficult to access and easy to defend. Its best-preserved wall, reinforced by triangular bastions, is faced with neatly arranged limestone spoils—mostly column drums and tombstones—that indicate a date in the Dark Ages and give the castle its suitable Turkish name, the White Castle of the Sangarius (Fig. 1.27). Here, then, is the Akhisar that only fell to the forces of Osman after a difficult struggle. The *tekfur* of Mekece who joined him probably helped in finding a suitable approach to the castle.

The *tekfur* of Akhisar took refuge in KARA ÇEBIŞ HISAR, high above the Sangarius. The name does not survive in the region, but the remains of Çoban Kale, which von der Goltz noted in the scenic gorge between Geyve and Adapazar, above the traces of a bridge, may represent the site; it was certainly a remote and defensible one. For Evliya Çelebi, it was a small,

Fig. 1.26 Malagina, overlooking the Sangarius

Fig. 1.27 Walls of Malagina/Akhisar

ruined castle on a steep rock on the banks of the Sangarius, three hours from Geyve, where the road was so narrow that passersby could be forced to pay a toll. The heavily overgrown remains consist largely of one tower (much has succumbed to road building) with some brick bands amid its fieldstone facing. Comparison with Akhisar has suggested a date in the late twelfth century.[166]

With its main bastion captured, the rest of Malagina soon fell. Next to be abandoned by is commander was GEYVE, the Byzantine Kabaia, mentioned only in 1275 as a place of exile.[167] Its suburb, now called Alifuatpaşa, is graced by a stone Ottoman bridge (Fig. 1.28) above which rises an isolated hill, seemingly ideal for a fortress. The local historian Namık Cihan, however, explained that there was nothing on top of the hill. Nevertheless, the place did have a "very small castle" which the indefatigable Evliya Çelebi saw in 1648.[168] Geyve in his time was a small prosperous town which had been much larger before being devastated by a flood a few years earlier. Then as now it prospered from its rich fruit production. Koru Dere where Geyve's *tekfur* fled, has not been located, but a document allows TEKUR PINAR to be identified with Umurbey, some five kilometers southwest of Geyve at the edge of the plain.[169] It has not been investigated. With that, Osman's conquest of Malagina, which opened access to Nicaea. Nicomedia and the lower Sangarius, was complete.[170]

Fig. 1.28 The Sangarius at Geyve

Attacks to the North; First Threats to Nicaea and Nicomedia; APZ 22

Osman now sent fighters in two directions: Orhan, leading a campaign of his own for the first time, struck toward Kara Çepiş, Ab suyu, and Kara Tekin, while Konur Alp made his base at Beşköprü before advancing through the forests toward Ak Yazı. As a result, Osman secured this frontier. Meanwhile, Akça Koca headed for Izmit. After taking Kara Çepiş by a stratagem, Orhan moved on Ab Suyu which surrendered. He left the local population in place under peace and security. Next to be attacked was Kara Tekin, but Orhan announced that his real goal was Iznik. Orhan called on the *tekfur* to surrender and stormed the fort when he refused, capturing and killing the *tekfur* and returning with much loot to Osman in Yenişehir. The effect of this campaign was to turn Kara Tekin into a fortress for blockading Iznik and a base for devastating its lands and making life very uncomfortable for its inhabitants.

AB SUYU, described as a small fortress below Kara Cebiş, is perhaps to be identified with Adliye, a fort whose thick walls are faced with mortared

rubble and brick in a technique appropriate to the thirteenth century.[171] It stands near the exit of the long gorge from which the Sangarius flows into the broad plain east of Lake Sapanca. If this were captured, the *ghazi*s would have access to an environment far different from the river valley they had been overrunning. This would have allowed Akça Koca to penetrate to the bridge of Justinian (BEŞKÖPRÜ) over the Sangarius (Fig. 1.29), a monumental stone structure still intact, with an apsidal structure at its east end that presumably represents the small fort or tower (*burguncuk*) - another accurate local touch—where he paused before attacking places in the great forest that stretched along the hills and mountains far to the east[172] (Fig. 1.30). Occupation of the lake shore near the bridge would have opened the main route to Izmit. Likewise, capture of fortresses on the Sangarius meant that Konur Alp could move east across the Akova plain to AKYAZI whose fortress, at the foot of the mountains a couple of miles south of the modern town, has been mentioned but not described.[173]

KARA TEKIN, now called Karadin, has a special location on the route through the pass that rises steeply from the Sangarius valley before beginning its long and gradual descent toward Iznik.[174] For much of its course, the route is confined by steep hills on either side, but at Karadin opens out into a small plain (Fig. 1.31). The settlement, built on a prehistoric mound, was well fortified with a wall of about 180 × 150 meters; its masonry of

Fig. 1.29 Justinian's bridge over the Sangarius

Fig. 1.30 Tower-like structure on the bridge

Fig. 1.31 Karadin/Trikokkia

mortared rubble and brick suits the twelfth- and thirteenth-century pottery found there. Texier in 1833 saw walls with towers, but by von der Goltz's time, there were only a few ruins. In any case, this was the fortress that commanded the route to Iznik, whose fertile fields stretch east from the city, only thirteen kilometers away, vulnerable to any blockade from this direction.

"1326": Bursa Surrenders: APZ 23

When news arrived that the infidel defenders of Bursa were suffering from hunger and only wanted a pretext to surrender, Osman called on Orhan and put him in charge of a campaign whose first step was directed against Adranos. This was a war of revenge for the father of the *tekfur* had been responsible for the death of Osman's nephew Bay Hoca in the battle of Dimboz in "1302."[175] When the *tekfur* heard that the Turks were coming, he fled to the nearby mountains (the Elete Dağ of the sources has not been identified), where he perished from falling off a cliff. The Turks burned the fortress but took the local population who had surrendered under their protection. Orhan then returned to Bursa where he took up his headquarters at Pınarbaşı on the south side of the great fortress, and sent Mihal to negotiate terms. The *tekfur* paid 30,000 gold florins for a protected departure from the city. The Turks escorted him to the port of Gemlik; the wealth he had accumulated in Bursa was distributed among the ghazis who thereby became very rich. Osman himself did not participate in the capture of Bursa because he had a problem with his leg, but really because he wanted Orhan to win glory while he, Osman, was still alive.[176]

Adranos has been met before, in the coalition of the *tekfur*s of the Bursa region. Evidently it had survived unconquered for the subsequent twenty years, perhaps because it was far from the action of that period. Its fate was linked with that of Bursa with which it was directly connected, but how it was supplied and what its relation had been with the larger city can only be imagined. In any case, it seems not to have been in a position to relieve the blockade that brought Bursa to starvation.

The *tekfur* left via the port of GEMLIK, an ancient foundation that preserves Byzantine rebuildings of its walls, some of them with alternating bricks and stones in their masonry, typical of the twelfth or thirteenth century.[177]

Evliya mentions the fine castle, a product of the builders of the walls of Iznik, that stood on a high hill by the shore, and could, he thought, easily be restored.[178]

The narrative includes an edifying discussion with a certain Saroz, described as the vezir of the *tekfur*. He explained to Orhan the main reasons for the surrender, including the abstract—that the Turks power was growing from day to day while theirs was declining. Finally, APZ asks whether Osman were still alive at the time of this conquest (for he had not appeared on the scene of such an important victory): the answer he gives is that Osman was suffering in his leg so could not be present. This question will be discussed

next.[179] In any case, the Turks had achieved one of their major goals, conquering the first of the three great cities of Bithynia.

Expeditions East and West: APZ 25–27

Konur Alp was sent toward the woods and plains of eastern Bithynia—to Ak Yazı, the Konurapa region, Bolu and Mudurnu, whence he returned to Kara Cebiş and Ab Suyu before setting out again. Akça Koca, meanwhile, was entrusted with an attack on Kandıra and Ermene as prelude to a supremely bold mission, to strike at the environs of Istanbul through the Kocaeli peninsula. After taking Kandıra, where he stationed some men, he proceeded against Samandıra. Here, he encountered much resistance until he surprised the local *tekfur* who had gathered with his men for a funeral outside the castle walls. The *tekfur* was captured and Samandıra became Akça Koca's base for attacking Aydos. Here he encountered serious resistance from the local *tekfur* as well from the "*tekfur* of Istanbul" determined to keep the Turks from Aydos. Akça Koca brought the captured *tekfur* of Samandıra to the castle of Aydos, requesting ransom from the defenders and inciting them to surrender. When they refused, he tried to ransom the *tekfur* to Istanbul, but those infidels also refused to pay, so he finally sold him to the *tekfur* of Izmit after much victorious fighting that finally brought peace and security to the villages around Aydos. The fortress continued to hold out until the *tekfur*'s daughter betrayed it as the result of a dream.

The expedition across the Kocaeli peninsula (which the Byzantines called Mesothynia) was one of the boldest the Turks had undertaken. The first goal, KANDIRA, is a major market town some fifty kilometers north of Izmit across a hilly country. Until the late nineteenth century, this region was believed to be covered by the dense forest that the Turks called the "sea of trees." Von der Goltz, however, by making an excursion to an area west of Kandıra, found that it was a hilly country with many villages and settled cultivation.[180] Travelers seem not to have visited Kandıra.[181] The town contains a simple rectangular mosque named for Orhan and, on its outskirts, a small wooden mosque and attached tomb both supposedly of the region's conqueror Akça Koca (Fig. 1.32). In any case, the region of Kandira contains a group of distinctive small rectangular wooden mosques (built without nails) which form a group attributed to Orhan and thus attesting the earliest Turkish settlement in the area.[182] ERMENE (presumably the same as the Ermeni Pazar of APZ 30), mentioned in association with Kandira,

Fig. 1.32 Monument to Akçakoca in Kandıra

poses a problem. The obvious identification is with Armaşa (now called Akmeşe), ten kilometers north of Lake Sapanca, the seat of an important Armenian monastery and pilgrimage goal. Unfortunately, the monastery was only founded in 1610 and nothing is known of the earlier history of the site.[183] In any case, Kandıra was only a stopping point on a much more adventurous route that would take the Turks through steep hills and valleys the whole length of the peninsula to Samandıra, only some twenty kilometers from the Bosporus. By following such a route, they could hope for an element of surprise, at the same time avoiding the main highway from Izmit to Istanbul along the south coast, which was heavily fortified.

SAMANDIRA, now swallowed by the suburbs of Istanbul, was the Byzantine Damatrys, site of a palace which Byzantine emperors through the Middle Ages frequented for recreation and hunting; it offered a convenient location in the country but only a short ride from the capital.[184] It is last mentioned in 1296, when Andronicus II camped out here for the summer when Istanbul had been devastated by an earthquake. No castle is recorded on the site, but the palace was massive enough, perhaps, to give the impression of a fortress.

AYDOS, on the other hand, is well known and has even the subject of excavation.[185] This formidable castle stands on highest peak of the region, now in the midst of a small pine wood with the suburbs of Istanbul lapping

at its feet. The oval castle which occupies the hilltop, consists of a double wall with 13 U-shaped towers and three gates. It is faced with rough fieldstones set in mortar, except for a tower near the main gate which makes decorative use of brick. The excavators date the structure of the twelfth/thirteenth centuries, with additions in the thirteenth; its most active period was the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries, finds from the Ottoman period were lacking, suggesting that the place was abandoned not long after its conquest.

Conquest of Izmit: APZ 30

Immediately after succeeding to supreme power Orhan distributed fiefs to his family, then organized a major campaign against Izmit. The troops gathered at Bursa, marched to Yenişehir and Geyve, and found Orhan's son Suleyman at Apsuyu. The *gazis* who had been in Aydos joined them from their base on the shore of Lake Sapanca, whence all proceeded by the ancient highroad to Izmit. The ruler of that city was a woman, Yalakonda, related to the *tekfur* of Istanbul. She was also the ruler of Yalova where she had a castle in the valley. Her brother Kalyon controlled the castle on the ridge above, which the Turks of APZ's day called Koyun Hisar. After her brother was killed, Yalakonda surrendered Izmit on condition for safe conduct for herself and her followers, with their possessions. With the terms agreed, the defenders embarked in ships, presumably to Istanbul. Orhan entered the city, as did the warriors from Aydos who henceforth were stationed in Izmit. Orhan converted churches to mosques and made one of them into a medrese; the Greek city became Turkish. Orhan distributed *timar*s: Kara Mürsel took charge of the shore with troops to make sure no harm came by sea from Istanbul; others got Yalova, Ermen Pazar, and Kandıra. This concluded the conquest of Kocaeli, Ak Yazı, and Konurapa.

The route of the joint expedition to Izmit makes sense with its rendezvous at Apsuyu on the Sangarius, for one of the main routes across Anatolia runs through Izmit, and south of Lake Sapanca on its way east. The ghazis would have joined it (as many travelers did) near the mouth of the Sangarius gorge. When Orhan achieved his goal, conquest of the last of the great Bithynian cities, he naturally took over the coast of the Gulf, including the strategic site port of Yalova, the "gateway to Asia" of the Byzantines, terminus of a natural route that led to Nicaea and the interior of Asia Minor.

Evliya describes the fortress of YALOVA as built by "the *tekfur*" and conquered by Osman (no doubt a lapsus for Orhan), who had such trouble

taking it that he had it demolished, though its foundations were still visible.[186] The town itself had seven hundred houses and seven mosques, but its location on the coast was unhealthy, subject to malaria. The castle in the valley, at Yalakabad, had been conquered by Orhan and Kara Mürsel from the infidels was a place where locals kept their sheep in the winter, and a stop for bandits and merchants. This is presumably Yalova, while the castle on the ridge would be Çoban Kale, the Byzantine Xerigordos which occupies an exceptionally strategic location above the Yalakdere valley, where the coastal plain meets the hills of the interior.[187] The road, which rises gradually from the coast, runs directly beneath the fortress, for the river here passes through a gorge. Up to this point the landscape is subtropical, with vines, olives, fields, and fruit trees in the valley and stretching up the slopes. Beyond it, the country becomes rugged, with thick maquis and less vegetation. The land rises and becomes wilder toward the south where the road passes through a tangle of high hills that separate the Gulf from the lake and plain of Iznik. Çoban Kale has been surveyed: it is an ovoid structure of 180 × 120 meters with seven semicircular towers that could be identified and probably another five. Its masonry, of flat stones in rough courses, is not diagnostic but would suit the textual evidence that suggests it was already standing at the time of the First Crusade and rebuilt in the twelfth century. Pottery found on the site was of the thirteenth century. As for the related castle "on the ridge above," it has not been identified; it can hardly be the Koyun Hisar already met on the route from Yenişehir to Bursa, but evidently was another place with the same name, "Sheep Castle," that would suit Evliya's description. It might possibly have been the Kale Tepe discussed in the next section.

Izmit is well known, with plenty of monuments from the time of Orhan, including, it seems, rebuilding of parts of the fortifications, where presumably the men from Aydos would have been stationed. Excavation of that site confirms this narrative, for there was virtually nothing found from the Ottoman period, as could be expected if the place was evacuated or abandoned soon after its conquest.

"1331": Conquest and Settlement of Iznik: APZ 32–33

The blockading fort at Kara Tekin was doing its job so well that the people of Iznik were completely cut off from their normal food supplies, as the Turks occupied all the land around and distributed it as *timar*s. They

couldn't even go out onto the lake for fishing. Eventually, Iznik surrendered on terms: those who wished to leave could leave and those who wanted to stay could stay. The *tekfur* left by the Istanbul (north) gate, but most of the people stayed behind. Orhan entered by the Yenişehir (south) gate, and met the infidels who acted as if their ruler had died and they were receiving his son. Among them were many women whose husbands had died in the fighting or from starvation. Orhan gave them to his followers to marry and settled them in houses in the city (Figs. 1.33, 1.34).

Osman rapidly imposed an Islamic image on Iznik: he converted the main church into a mosque, a monastery became a medrese and he built a soup kitchen by the Yenişehir gate. For a time Iznik became his capital.

The Anonymous adds some details.[188] When the Turks saw that Iznik could not be taken because it had water on all four sides, they built a blockading fort on the mountain wall toward Yenişehir and garrisoned it with forty troops under the command of the brave and strong Daz Ali. The fort is called Taz Ali Hisar; it has a high rock above it from which springs a source of cool water. The infidels of Iznik, recognizing their desperate situation, managed to send a message to the *tekfur* of Istanbul, for in those days he still ruled Iznik. The *tekfur* thereupon sent a fleet that landed at Yalakova, intending to march on Iznik and surprise the Turks. The surprise was on them, however, for the Turks had a spy who reported the landing back to

Fig. 1.33 Looking down on Nicaea

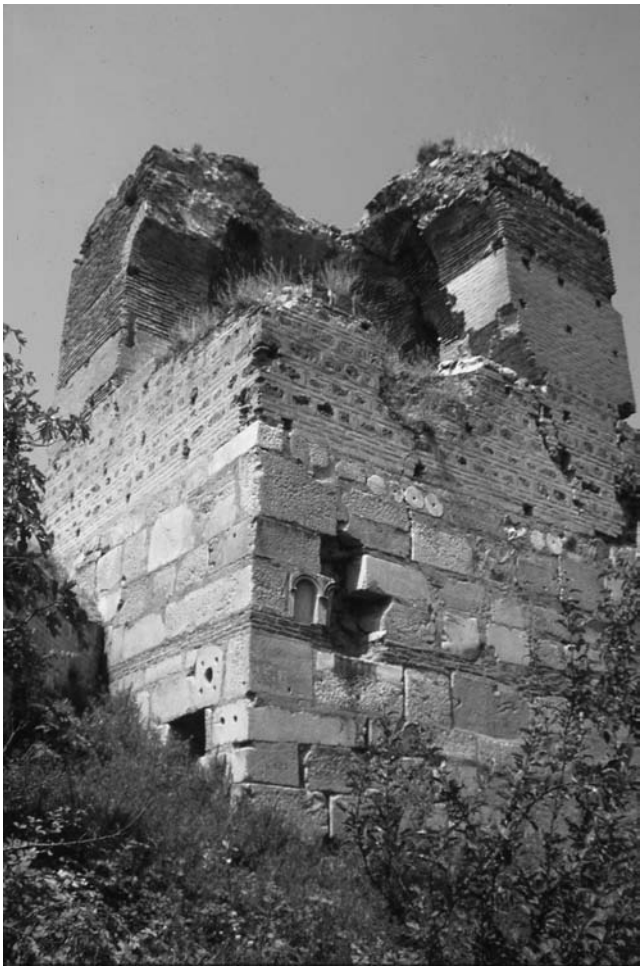

Fig. 1.34 Lascarid tower of Nicaea

the forces at Iznik, who marched to the coast and destroyed the attackers. When news of this reached Istanbul, the *tekfur* was in despair, and the defenders of Iznik soon surrendered.

Kara Tekin, long the base for blockading Iznik, was not the only such fort. Daz Ali is also a real place, located at the village of Dirazali, on the heights four kilometers south of Iznik, overlooking the plain and the city. This is actually a strategic location, guarding the rough mountain road from Iznik to Köprühisar. The fort, still standing in the time of the Anonymous, was in ruins by the early sixteenth century.[189]

Çoban Kale, discussed above, controlled the main route from the sea, while a small fortress, Kale Tepe, high above the south shore of the lake at an elevation of 835 meters overlooked the plains of Iznik and Yenişehir. Its surviving two small towers exhibit a masonry comparable to the Lascarid. On the lake shore, eight kilometers southwest of Iznik, the rocky promontory of Karacakaya was reinforced by a medieval wall; pottery of the thirteenth century was found there[190] (Fig. 1.35). It thus appears that the city was indeed blockaded from all sides and that starvation forced its surrender.

The buildings of Orhan survive, most notable among them the mosque converted from the church known as St. Sophia at the exact center of the city. The role of Iznik as capital, however, is not attested elsewhere; in any case, the next chapter states that Orhan entrusted the city to his son Suleyman.

Rounding off the Conquest of Bithynia: APZ 34

After settling Iznik, Osman sent Suleyman to Tarakçı Yenicesi whose people had heard of Orhan's justice. Since the Ottomans brought justice wherever they went, their good reputation spread to places still unconquered. As a result, Yenice, Göynük and Mudurnu all willingly surrendered on terms.

Fig. 1.35 Karacakaya, a blockading fort

The Turks brought security and prosperity; many of the country people converted to Islam. The conquest of Bithynia was complete.

These places have been met more than once before. On the first occasion, narrated in APZ chapter 10 and set in "1288," Osman, together with his Christian ally Mihal, attacked Göynük, Tarakçı Yenicesi, and Göl Flanoz. This seems to have been a raiding expedition that brought much loot, though APZ unconvincingly adds that they did this in order to bring the local people under their control. In chapter 25, set after the conquest of Bursa, Konur Alp is sent out to Ak Yazı, Konurapa, Bolu and Mudurnu, taking the Turks a good deal farther east. This also appears to have been a raid without major consequence. In chapter 30, dealing with the conquest of Izmit, APZ claims that this concluded the conquest of Kocaeli, Ak Yazı, Konurapa, and Bolu. That would mean that the lands of the rich Ak Ova along the highway that led east from Adapazar were now in Orhan's control, while the expedition narrated here represents a rounding out, by the final conquest of the territory immediately to the south, along the road that leads east from Geyve and the Sangarius.

KONURAPA poses a problem. The name does not appear in the official list of place names in Turkey, the *Meskun yerler kilavuzu*, but a document of the early sixteenth century lists a village of that name adjacent to the large market town of Düzce.[191] This is presumably the village now called Konur Alp, situated near the ancient Prusias ad Hypium. This district, too, contains many of the small wooden mosques attributed to Orhan. Bolu, on the other hand, which lies some forty-five kilometers further east, contains impressive monuments of Beyazit I, but nothing earlier.

Orhan Acquires Karesi: APZ 35–36

Aclan Bey, son of Karesi, died at this time, leaving a son called Dursun who went over to Orhan. His brother Haci Ilbeg who had remained with his father, was unpopular with the people. Dursun Bey proposed to divide his lands with Orhan, whom he urged to take Balıkesir, Bergama, and Edremit, leaving Kızılca Tuzla and Mahram for himself. Orhan then proceeded to conquer much of Mysia. He took Ulubat, where he left the *tekfur* in place, then moved from Gölbaşı to take Biluyuz and Ablayund. He arrived at Kirmasti whose ruler was a woman called Kilemastorya. Orhan met her and her brother Mihaliçi, brought gifts, and left her in place. The *tekfur* of Ulubat, however, had not kept to the agreement he had made, and was finished off.

The next conquest was Balıkesir, from which the other son of Karasi fled, taking refuge in Bergama. Orhan proclaimed that the people would have security under his rule. The people of the region submitted, families returned, and those with *timar*s were left in place. This took place in 1335.

Orhan Completes Acquisition of Karesi, Becomes *Padishah*: APZ 37

By taking the right of *hutbe* and *sikke* (being named in the Friday prayers and striking coins) in Karesi, Orhan became *padishah*. Haci Ilbeg surrendered Bergama on terms and was sent to Bursa where he died two years later. Orhan gave the whole of Karesi to his son Suleyman as *timar*.

The significance of Orhan's new title of *padishah* is not evident. His coins struck in Bursa show that he already had the right of *sikke*; he had claimed *hutbe* since 1299 (APZ cap. 14).[192] If the title *padishah* was really claimed at his time, it presumably reflected his rule over more than one emirate.

The account of the Ottoman acquisition of Karesi presents irreconcilable problems, which will be discussed next. The geography is real enough: Balıkesir, Bergama, and Edremit were the main cities of the emirate, but "Dursun bey" was unlikely to have been in a position to offer them all together, for Bergama and Balıkesir were the headquarters, respectively, of the maritime and inland branches of the emirate. The region of Kızılca Tuzla and "Mehram" (presumably Behram, the ancient Assos) is implausibly tiny, for the two places lie virtually side by side on the coast west of Edremit. "Dursun" presumably uses these names to refer to the Troad, which was a separate dependency under the ruler of Bergama.

APZ names only a few places among Orhan's conquests in Karesi, and these clustered around Lake Apollonia in easy reach of his capital Bursa and on routes that led from there to the Dardanelles, Balıkesir, Bergama, and Izmir. "Gölbaşı" is no doubt Başköy, which was for Fontanier in 1827 the first stage west from Bursa, six leagues distant, at the edge of marshes that stretched down to the lake.[193] "Biluyuz" is presumably Balyoz in the hills southeast of Lake Apolyont, while "Ablayund" is evidently Apollonia, a well-known stronghold on a promontory jutting into the lake which bears its name, twenty-five kilometers west of Bursa and well-fortified in the Byzantine period[194] (Fig. 1.36). The key point here is the powerful fortress of Lopadion (Turkish ULUBAT) built by John Comnenus to defend the area against Turkish attacks, and controlling a strategic river crossing.[195] Osman

Fig. 1.36 Apollonia

threatened the city after his victory over the coalition of *tekfur*s at Dimboz in "1302"; Orhan took it after the aborted restoration of its *tekfur* in the present campaign. Yet how it managed to be in the hands of a *tekfur* at this late stage is not at all obvious, for a Byzantine chronicle mentions its fall in 1327 (though not to whom).[196]

The main road west from Bursa led along the north shore of the lake where it featured a substantial stone caravansary built in the fifteenth century. In Ottoman times, the commercial center of the district was MIHALIÇ, where the roads branched to the west and southwest. Locals participated in the long-distance trade to such an extent that Lebas could report in 1844 that they knew more about Bursa, Smyrna, and Constantinople than the interior of their own district.[197] The road that led to Balıkesir and Izmir gained considerable importance in the seventeenth century and later with the rise of Izmir as a major commercial center; a constant stream of travelers between there and Istanbul passed through and left descriptions usually not very detailed since this part of the road at least contained no large cities or impressive antique remains.[198] KIRMASTI (now called Mustafakemalpaşa) stands on the river Rhyndacus, about ten kilometers southwest of the lake, on an alternative, somewhat shorter though less practicable road southwest from Bursa. In the early twentieth century it preserved the remains of a Byzantine castle and a tomb supposedly of Lala Shahin, tutor of Orhan's son Murat I.[199]

The name of Kirmasti's female ruler "Kilemastorya" has plainly been made up on the basis of the place name (just as Yalakonda from Yalova above), while her brother "Mihaliçi" covers the name of the town Mihaliç (now Karacabey) some five kilometers west of Ulubat. From here, the narrative skips to the two capitals, Balıkesir and Bergama, omitting any mention of the long and strategic coast—of the Marmara, the Hellespont, and the northeastern Aegean—that Karesi controlled.

The following chapters, beginning with 39, describe the crossing to Europe and the first Turkish conquests there.

How Reliable a Tradition?

The narrative of APZ is highly circumstantial, presenting a plausible-looking sequence of events against the detailed background of a region with an abundance of place names. Plausible or not, it needs to be tested to see whether it is history, legend, or some combination, and whether it is internally consistent.[200] Such an investigation may begin with the toponyms, to determine whether the narrative is set in a real or imaginary background. A story that unfolds in places that never existed, or were actually located far from where they are set, would not inspire confidence.

In fact, this is a real landscape, and the toponyms are in their correct places. Of the forty-five towns, forts, and villages that appear, fully forty-one can be located positively or most plausibly in the region where they are set. None of them is out of place. Only four cannot be identified, either because they have disappeared or their name has been changed. Nothing here raises suspicion. What is equally striking is the familiarity of the author with some details of the land. Most notable is the allusion to the country around Çakır Pınar, where the land really does open out, leaving the narrow crags behind. Another local touch is mention of the little tower at Justinian's bridge, a real structure that would not be imagined if it were not seen. But presenting a real landscape, though encouraging, does not validate the narrative, for novels are frequently set in real landscapes, though their protagonists are fictional.

Another step will help: is the setting appropriate to the time of Osman and Orhan, or are their notable inconsistencies or anachronisms? Here, too, the answer is positive. Of those forty-one identified toponyms, twenty-six have evidence from the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries. This usually consists of physical remains—the masonry of fortresses or finds of pottery—less often

of texts. That does not mean that the other fifteen sites are out of place chronologically, only that they have not been investigated closely enough. There are no places that definitely did not exist at this time. So, it can be taken that the narrative is set in a real time and place.

Next, consistency: do the events make sense in their context and is their sequence plausible? Does the narrative contradict itself or fail to agree with whatever evidence is available from other, generally accepted, sources? Here the answer is mixed.

Leaving aside for the moment the earliest events already discussed, but beginning with the conquest of Yar Hisar, Bilecik, and İnegöl, a plausible sequence of acquisition and expansion emerges. These strong points bring Osman from the mountainous borderlands of Phrygia down to the hills and plains of Bithynia, to a region much richer in agricultural or pastoral land and better communications with the metropolitan centers of Bursa and Iznik, the first real cities the Ottomans would encounter. From here, it was logical to move on to Yenişehir with its broad plain and easier access to the cities (Yenişehir was a good site for a headquarters if Osman had designs against Byzantium). Logical, too, that the Byzantines should take alarm at a movement plainly directed against them, and should organize the disparate forces of the region in an effort to bring Osman's ambitions to an end. His victory at Koyunhisar was a decisive step, the first time he met a substantial army, as opposed to picking off forts one by one, as often by stratagem as not. He was now a formidable opponent, directly threatening the empire in its Anatolian heartland. This sequence of events makes more sense than APZ's occasional chronological markers. If Osman could take Yarhisar in "1288," why did it take him another decade to overcome the eight kilometers that separate it from Yenişehir?

Koyunhisar left the way open to Bursa, where the Turks, lacking siege equipment, resorted to what was to prove a successful strategy of building blocking forts with the ultimate aim of starving the cities into surrender. In the case of Bursa, this would be a long—or long interrupted—process. They now, in "1302" turned in the opposite direction, to overrun the crucial Sangarius valley, heavily defended by Byzantium against enemies coming from the east—not from the southwest. Success here was decisive, for Osman could now send his forces over a pass and down toward Nicaea or further north to Justinian's bridge and the highway that led west to Izmit and Constantinople.

The next event reported, in "1326," seemingly after a gap of twenty years or so, is the fall of Bursa, which succumbed after a long blockade, preceded

by the rather remote Adranos. With this success behind them, the Turks, led now by Orhan, made a spectacular demonstration of force by penetrating to the suburbs of Constantinople and taking the steep fortress of Aydos. Meanwhile, another contingent struck east into the remote but fertile region of eastern Bithynia.

Like other goals of Osman, the fate of eastern Bithynia poses problems. APZ (10) reports that soon after the conquest of Karacahisar, Osman proposed an expedition against Tarakçı Yenicesi. Mihal advised him of the route and told him that the rich land of Mudurnu would be easy to attack because Samsa Çavuş and his followers were settled near there (as they had been since the days of Ertuğrul). Samsa joined them after they crossed the Sangarius and together they raided Göynük and Tarakçı Yenicesi and reached Gölkalanoz (Gölpazar), whence they returned to Karacaşehir. They took much loot but no captives because Osman wanted to treat the population well, so that they might his subjects. Subsequently, after the successful Sangarius campaign of 1304, Konur Alp took Düzpazar (Düzce) and Akyazı, defeated the enemy at Uzunca Bel, and advanced as far as Bolu (APZ 22). This was apparently a raid.

After the conquest of Bursa, APZ (25) reports that Konur Alp attacked Akyazı, Mudurnu and Bolu as well as the land of Konurapa. The Anonymous (5), though, attributes the conquest of Tarakçı Yenicesi, Göynük, and Mudurnu to Orhan's son Suleyman, as does APZ (34) who, however, places this after the conquest of Iznik (or Izmit). He adds that these places had surrendered willingly. Meanwhile, on the death of Konur Alp, Orhan had assigned his lands to Suleyman (APZ 30).

Al-Uryan, who left Anatolia in 1333, reports the existence of an emirate called Koynuk Hisar.[201] When Ibn Battuta passed through, however, the city, inhabited only by Greeks, was in Ottoman hands.[202] It seems probable that the three towns named together by the Anonymous (Yenice, Göynük, and Mudurnu) and which form a coherent geographic unit, were all part of an independent state adjacent to Ottoman territory and only taken by Orhan. Osman's lands did not include them, though they were suitable for raiding. When APZ mentions the populations of these areas, they are made up of infidels who submit without a fight and often become Muslim. Note, though, that no *tekfur*s appear, perhaps suggesting that the writ of Byzantium no longer ran in this distant province.

Bolu poses a special problem. Ibn Battuta, who passed through Mudurnu and Bolu, does not indicate who controlled them, only that Kainuk was in the territory of Orhan and that Gerede, the next major station east of

Bolu, had its own ruler. In fact, conquest of Bolu would have been a major accomplishment because of the topography. The lowlands of the Sangarius end about 25 km east of the river after which there is a climb to the fertile plain of Düzce, the ancient Prusias ad Hypium, a place that was very prosperous in antiquity from export of timber.[203] East of there, the road rises steeply, a difficult track through dense forest, to reach the isolated basin of Bolu, ringed by high mountains, at an altitude of 725m, compared with Düzce's 120m. Many travelers experienced the unpleasant passage, notably James Baillie Fraser who in 1834 described the long and difficult forty mile stage to Bolu through a dense forest of oak and beech—a thorny jungle—with a river that constantly had to be crossed. [204]

The next conquest poses a real problem. According to APZ, the united forces of the Turks marched on Izmit, the natural goal of a force that advanced down the Sangarius and past Lake Sapanca. But APZ narrates the surrender of Izmit and Yalova, before proceeding on to the fate of Iznik, which succumbed to an effective series of blockading forts. There seems to be a serious confusion here. Izmit is not naturally connected with Yalova, which is rather a port for Iznik, and the description of the fortifications, in the valley and on the ridge, certainly suits the region of Iznik.[205] In any case, the three great Bithynian cities were now under Ottoman control and a new era for Bithynia had begun.

The momentous conquest of the coast of Karesi, which made the crossing into Europe practicable, poses different problems, for APZ gives its rulers names that are unattested elsewhere and his date for the conquest—1335—is manifestly wrong, for texts and coins show that Karesi was still functioning ten years later. The tradition evidently knew very little about Orhan's takeover of Karesi.

Despite some disquiet raised by the conquest of Iznik, Izmit, and Karesi, the narrative from the capture of Bilecik to the domination of Bithynia makes sense, showing an orderly progress where each stage lay the foundation for the next. The same cannot be said of the account of the origins and rise of the primordial Ottoman enterprise.

The notion that Ottoman history began in Söğüt, the residence of Ertuğrul, is so well entrenched that there is no reason to doubt it. Even though no remains from the time of Ertuğrul or Osman have been reported, the role of the town is attested as early as the fifteenth century. The summer and winter pastures assigned to Ertuğrul, however, inspire no such confidence. For the summer, the sultan granted pastures at Ermeni Beli and Domaniç. As already noted, these make little sense as summer pastures for

Söğüt because they are in the same climate zone and stand at very similar altitudes. This does not mean that Ertuğrul had no sheep to pasture, just that these were not the right places for them.

Osman supposedly had mixed relations with the *tekfur*s of İnegöl (hostile) and Bilecik (friendly). It is perfectly plausible that Byzantium had outposts in such places, for Bithynia was heavily fortified, especially its mountain passes and major roads. The local commanders, often hostile to the imperial government, were certainly capable of collaborating with the Turks.

By its universal use of the term *tekfur*, the Tradition shows a manifest ignorance of its prime adversary. It presents the commander of each city as autonomous, though capable of joining with rules of other cities in a joint effort (as in the battle of Dimboz) and presents the *tekfur* of Istanbul as a chief like the others. In fact, the Byzantine administrative system as known in the Lascarid period was complex, with provincial and municipal governors subordinate to the emperor.[206] The sense of a hierarchy—indeed, the existence of a state headed by a supreme emperor who ruled a large territory—is completely lacking. Osman would probably have been aware of the nature of his adversaries, as Orhan certainly was, but the Tradition has dispensed with the details.

Karacahisar poses a special problem because of its location on the road from Kütahya, headquarters of ever-hostile Germiyan, to Eskişehir; this does not seem capable of resolution. Finally, the collaboration with the Christian commander Köse Mihal, seems to involve a figure whose very existence is more than doubtful. In sum, the traditions about Ottoman origins are dubious or tendentious. APZ and his sources seem to have known very little about them and compensated by incorporating stories that had the ring of plausibility. For this period, there is only the penumbra of shadowy people and events moving around a real landscape. The situation only changes when Osman moves out of the confines of his first home to engage with a broader world. From the conquest of Bilecik, Yarhisar and İnegöl, the scene becomes more plausible and some confidence may be placed in the tradition, at least until the capture of Iznik and Izmit.

The physical environment provides a context for the traditions about Osman and Orhan and to some extent allows them to be verified or rejected. The physical context is in itself informative: a rough, hilly, or mountainous country with few natural resources and no large plains makes it unsuitable for a nomadic society or for a powerful centrally organized state. It would also have been a land its neighbors wouldn't covet. A country that could not support a large population, it never had any cities even in the most

flourishing ages of Rome. Osman's realm was evidently quite poor until it spread to the fertile coastal plains. Its location on an important cross-country route should have made a difference, but the sources are silent about trade though not about the raids that swept along the roads.

This country also (and this seems not to have been noticed) provides a real context for the endowment of Jibrail b. Jaja, whose lands were the direct neighbors of Ertuğrul and the young Osman. His territories around Eskişehir—the most suitable for flocks and herds of nomads—were given over to agriculture, suggesting that decades of stability under the Seljuks had tamed a land afflicted by the Turcomans of the frontier. More importantly, the location of ibn Jaja's lands brings the Mongols into the picture at an early date, attested by real documentation not an oral tradition. Their presence in the Homeland raises questions about the relation of the incipient Ottoman enterprise to the all-powerful Ilkhanids and for that matter to the newly established Germiyan. These questions will be approached in Chapter 6, but any answer to them will involve a good dose of speculation.

Notes

1. Kafadar 1995, 96–104 puts the sources into their historical context; for the complexities of the sources see the discussions of Inalcık 1962 and Menage 1962; and for Yahşı Fakih, Menage 1963, cf. Haşim Şahin "Yahşı Fakih" in *IA* (2013); and Menage 1964 for Neşri.
2. Edited and translated by Kemal Silay; see Bibliography for details.
3. Edited and translated by Irene Melikoff-Sayar as *Le destan d'Umur Pacha*; henceforth referred to as *Destan*.
4. For editions of APZ, see the Bibliography at the end of this book.
5. See Lindner 2007, 15–34.
6. "APZ" will be used for "Aşıkpaşazade"; "Homeland" denotes the lands occupied by Osman before the battle of Bapheus in 1302.
7. See the article "Ertoghrul" by V. Menage (1965) and "Ertuğrul Gazi" by Fahmattin Başar in *IA* (1995) and note that the coin inscribed "Osman ibn Ertuğrul" is of dubious authenticity: see p. 142f. On the other hand, he is mentioned as grandfather of Orhan in a foundation document of 1361: see Beldiceanu 1967, 131–4 with n. 1.
8. Neşri I.74f.; the place still existed in 1858 when Mordtmann (1925, 549) passed through it on his way from Eskişehir to Söğüt.
9. The name no longer appears on modern maps, the traditional "Dog's Nose" apparently not thought sufficiently respectable for modern taste. It was changed

in the 1930s to a more innocuous Ilk Burun, "First Point" and so appears on the map in MAMA V (also, p. xviii). Later it became an even blander Ulu Dere, "Great Valley," the name it still bears. Such changes, which sacrifice history to current tastes or bureaucratic convenience, were frequently denounced by Louis Robert, e.g., 1977, 57–63.

10. For the location, resources, and communications of Söğüt, Lindner 2007, 35–56 is indispensable.
11. Evliya Çelebi IV.206f.; cf. Haji Kalfa 702. Later descriptions: Leake 1824, 15f., Kinneir 1818, 33–5, and Keppel 1831, 174ff.
12. Cuinet 1894 IV.179.
13. This geographic classification is from the admirable work of von der Goltz 1896, 294; cf. in much more detail Geyer, "Donnees geographiques" in Geyer-Lefort 2003, 23–40. For the environment and its changes in historic times, see the articles in Geyer-Lefort 2003, 153–205 and 535–45.
14. For the roads see Haji Kalfa 702, Taeschner 1924, I.77–151 especially 123f., with references to sources of the fifteenth century and later and Lindner 2007, 45–50, 54–6. For a comprehensive view, see Geyer-Lefort 2003, 461–72.
15. The first quote is from Leake 1824, 14, the second from Kinneir 1818, 33; cf. Fellows 1829, 121.
16. See the itinerary of General Koehler in Leake 1824, 143; cf. Keppel 1831, 174–8 and Fellows 1839, 123f.
17. Evliya IV.206f. The tomb is discussed by Ayverdi 1966, 198–200.
18. For the campaign of Tamerlane, see Alexandrescu-Dersca 1977, 80–5.
19. Ahmedi 48; Chalcocondyles 11; I am indebted here to the observations of Mr. David Barchard.
20. Söğüt has been identified with the Byzantine village Sagoudaous, mentioned by Anna Comnena XIV.1. It depends, however, only on the resemblance of name, and is to be rejected; see the discussion on p. 135.
21. Günyarık existed as early as the fifteenth century, when it appears in a list of pious foundations in the province: Refik 1924, 133. Dating of the second period of the church is suggested by surviving fragments of sculpture, perhaps of a ciborium arch. For examples in a similar style see Grabar 1978, plates 85b, 105, 113b, 123b, 139c, 139d, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the latter somewhat flatter than the present examples. My thanks to Prof. Cyril Mango for his comments.
22. For the route of the crusaders, see Runciman 1953, 180–6; cf. the usually neglected comments of von der Goltz 1896, 456f., who saw the landscape through the practiced eyes of a general, and suggested a different site for the battle of Dorylaeum from that usually accepted.
23. Here, as elsewhere, I take elevations from the excellent map of von Diest 1898.
24. For Armenokastron, mentioned only by Anna Comnena XIV.iii, 6, see Wittek 1935, 36.

25. For this route, see Taeschner 1924, 199f., and the examples of its use by Newberie, who traveled in 1581/2, in Purchas 1625, 1419, and Tournefort 1717, 335–9.
26. Taeschner 1924, 97–100, 122–34; for what follows, see Dernschwam 1923, 163–6 = 2003, 126.
27. See, for example, MacFarlane 1850, 317–22, Humann and Puchstein 1890, 12f., and von der Goltz 1896, 142–8 with illustrations.
28. Odo of Deuil 104, discussed by Tomaschek 1891, 89f.
29. Browne in Walpole 1820, 113.
30. Bertrandon 1892, 129f.
31. Cinnamus 38, a text that presents problems beyond the scope of the present discussion.
32. Belon 1555, 359–61; Evliya Çelebi XIII.44f.
33. Lucas 1712, 114f., Olivier 1807, 502f.
34. Kinneir 1818, 239–41; Texier 1892, 392; Mordtmann 1925, 61–7.
35. See Texier 1892, 302f., Keppel 1831, 389f., and MacFarlane 1850, 238–52, with his usual vivid description of local conditions.
36. See n. 22. I cannot understand the figures for heights and vertical range given by Lindner 1983, 20.
37. *tekfur*, a term derived from the Armenian, is used to denote the infidel commander of a city of whatever rank or function; see p. 87.
38. Discussed in Chapter 3, p. 136.
39. Evliya XIII.43f. For the Ottoman buildings, see Ayverdi 1966, 500 and 1974, 292–304.
40. See Kinneir 1818, 243; Keppel 1831, 391 (this quote); MacFarlane 1850, 232–8; Mordtmann 1925, 68f.; Humann and Puchstein 1890, 11f.
41. Mordtmann 1925, 69.
42. See the colorful description of MacFarlane 1850, 322–45.
43. For masonry of this period, see Foss 1982 and Foss and Winfield 1986, 150–9.
44. Bilecik is not mentioned in Byzantine sources, though modern writers have identified it with the Belokome of Pachymeres XI.21 (4.453). This is to be rejected: see the discussion in Chapter 3, p. 135f.
45. See the detailed discussion of Ayverdi 1966, 29–40; cf. Kuran 1968, 68f. Note that the adjacent "tomb of Mal Hatun" is a more recent structure.
46. Ayverdi 1966, 36–40.
47. Dates in quotation marks are those given by APZ that cannot be verified. They are used here as marking the sequence of events without implying that they are correct.
48. Humann and Puchstein 1890, 11f.; Ayverdi 1966, 5.
49. Kaplanoğlu 2000, 23 mentions fortifications at a village called Süpürtü 3–4 kilometers from Kulaca, whose inhabitants reported that the fortress was formerly called Kulaca.

50. Kalanos also appears as Falanos, mentioned in a document of the sixteenth century as being in the district of Göynük: Beldiceanu 2003, 365 n. 108. For Alınca, see ibid. 365 n. 113.
51. For its location, between İnegöl and Pazaryeri, see Beldiceanu 2003, 365 n. 112.
52. The routes of this district will be considered next in connection with İnönü.
53. Remains described and illustrated in TIB 7, 287.
54. See earlier, n. 42.
55. It might, for example, be one of the forts which Manuel Comnenus provisioned in 1175 before the reconstruction of Dorylaeum: see Cinnamus 294.
56. Neşri I.64–9.
57. Neşri I.74–7.
58. Neşri 71–3; Haci Bektaş: Taeschner 1928, 101 note 1.
59. APZ cap. 8. The recognition of Osman by the Seljuks was the subject of documents now recognized as modern forgeries: see Beldiceanu 1967, 59–77.
60. APZ caps. 6, 8, 9.
61. APZ cap. 9.
62. APZ cap. 14, but note that the Anonymous p. 12 gives the date as 689 (1290). See the discussion by Danişmend 1947, 5f.
63. APZ cap. 21; for the Çavdar Tatars, about whom very little is certain, see the exemplary study by Naumann 1985, 284–8.
64. APZ cap. 21; the date is uncertain: APZ places it immediately after a campaign of 1305 along the Sangarius.
65. Document: Refik 1924, 130, 132. Dernschwam 1923, 169; Haci Kalfa 702f.
66. Von der Goltz 1896, 179f.; location of Dorylaeum: Radet 1895, 491–513, largely refuted by Körte 1897, 388–94; inscriptions: MAMA V.115–17.
67. For an introduction see Parman 2001, with a plan and new photographs. Progress reports are published most years in the *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*: the most comprehensive so far is in the 24th (2001) volume of that series: 24.2, 69–80.
68. Körte 1895, 14f.; 1897, 388f.; MAMA V plates 4 and 5.
69. Cinnamus 294.
70. Ayverdi 1966, 13. The titles attributed to Osman raise the suspicion that the document (apparently unpublished) is a fabrication based on the mentions of Karacahisar in the sources.
71. APZ cap. 15.
72. RCEA xiii, 5080; for the history of Ankara in this period, see Wittek 1932, 340–53.
73. See the descriptions of von Diest 1898, 27f. and Haspels 1971, index s.v. Kumbet, Oines.
74. The identification may need to be reconsidered; Beldiceanu 2003, 362 locates Oynaş at a place called Oynuş in the region of Kütahya, while Kaplanoğlu 2000, 25 identifies it with Saruhan immediately north of Tavşanlı—a better location for the narrative—but gives no reason for the identification.

75. Haci Kalfa 702; Otter 1748, I, 50f.
76. Leake 1824, 142f.
77. Keppel 1831, 179f.; cf. Fellows 1839 who made the ascent and found the caves "an excellent substitute for a castle."
78. See TIB 7, 281.
79. Huart 1897, 38 (incomplete transcription only).
80. Kuran 1968, 70; cf. Kızıltan 1958, 106–10 and note that the mosque is absent from the masterful surveys of Ayverdi, presumably because he did not consider it an Ottoman work.
81. Varlik 1974, 57.
82. APZ cap. 30.
83. For Dorylaeum in this period, see Foss 1996b.
84. Al-Harawi cap. 58 (ed. Meri 152f.).
85. Ibn Said ap. Cahen 1974, 44. Cahen gives the name as Sultanbuli, which I presume appears in the Arabic text—not reproduced—as an error for Sultanyuki, from which it differs only by one dot and a slanting line, viz.: سلطان بولي and سلطان يوكي. Al-Harawi has سلطان وكي which, too, is probably to be emended slightly to be equivalent to the Sultanyuki of al-Umari 39.
86. RCEA xii, 4596,
87. The will appears in two versions, Mongolian and Arabic; both are edited, in a most exemplary fashion, with Turkish translation, introduction and notes, by A. Temir 1959.
88. Temir 1959, 151–219.
89. Temir 1959, 61–4, 127–9.
90. J. H. Mordtmann, Fr. Taeschner, "Eskişehir".
91. APZ 29; this anomalous use of the name Sultanönü may perhaps be taken to denote a district, while "Eskişehir" meant the city.
92. Al-Umari 32/350.
93. Another passage of the same author confirms the location indicating that the land of Sultanyuki was situated adjacent to the principality of Kastamonu and the territory of the house of Jenghiz Khan, that is, the land ruled directly by the Mongols: Al-Umari 39.
94. Ibn Battuta II, 324, 342.
95. See Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1967, 99 n. 32.
96. Otto-Dorn 1941, 10, 69; the building does not survive.
97. Refik 1924, 135, 141.
98. Evliya Çelebi IV, 207.
99. Haji Kalfa 701; the tomb apparently still exists: *Eskişehir Il Yıllığı* 96.
100. See, e.g., Mordtmann 1925, 549; the best description seems to be that of von der Goltz 1896, 173.
101. Temir 1959, 61–4, 127–9.

102. Similar lists that suggest the use of a common chancery style to describe such properties may be found in the slightly earlier *vakf* documents published by Turan 1958, 112, 141. Yet, even if these phrases are all formulaic, the specific items that follow certainly constitute concrete evidence.
103. For silk production and trade in Seljuk and Ottoman Anatolia, see H. Inalcık, "Harir".
104. See the map at the end of Erdmann 1961, with the references there to his meticulous descriptions.
105. Some of these village names appear in the vakf document of the late fifteenth century in slightly different forms, Eğrigöz and Söğüt Öyüğü: Refik 1924, 133, 135, 140; the differences presumably arise from the use of Turkish in this and Arabic in the will of Ibn Jaja. For Beş Kardeş, see Leake 1824, 17 and, in more detail, with photographs, MAMA V, xviiif.
106. Refik 1924.
107. For It Burnu, see p. 10.
108. See the photographs in MAMA V, plates 2 and 3, and the descriptions of Dernschwam 1923, 170, who seems in 1555 to have missed Eskişehir altogether, and of Kinneir 1818, 35f.
109. Ahmedi 157; the date is discussed by Wittek 1932, 351ff. and by Beldiceanu 1965, 444f., who would move it back to the last years of Orhan; cf. also Inalcık 1965, 154ff.
110. Refik 1924 *passim*; Osman and Orhan: ibid., 134.
111. See n. 123.
112. APZ cap. 10.
113. See the long article "Mihaloğulları" of M. Tayyib Gökbilgin in *IA* (2005) and the first pages of Gazimihal 1958; the comments of Ayverdi 1966, 150f., 1972, 170f. are, as usual, clear and sensible. Discussion of the subject seems inevitably to suppose that any prominent figure named Mihal had some connection with Köse Mihal, without reflecting that the name Michael was extremely common among Byzantines and that any number of converts who, for whatever reason, did not adopt a Muslim name may have borne it.
114. Mihal is described as *Sahib ul-khayr, dafi` ul-dayr and a`dal ul-umera*; see Ayverdi 1972, 170f.
115. Gazimihal 1958, 129f.
116. Refik 1924, 137. The text actually reads "Mihallardagi Gömelede," corrected by the editor to give better sense.
117. The same objection could be raised regarding Lowry's (2003, 56–67) discussion of a document of 1390 (known only in a later copy) which grants land, privileges and extravagant titles to a certain Ali beg son of Mihal beg. Ali was being rewarded for his services in the battle of Kosovo in 1389. Lowry presumes that the Mihal of this document was Köse Mihal, companion of Osman,

who is last mentioned in connection with the capture of Bursa in 1326. This would make for an implausibly long generation. This Mihal is named without any indication that he was one of the great heroes of his age.

118. Note that Imber 1993, 67f. and 1994, 131f. also rejects the historicity of Mihal, by a different chain of reasoning. Kafadar 1995, 26, 127 accepts Mihal as an historical figure. Kiprovska 2013 offers the most comprehensive defense of Mihal as a real figure, a Byzantine commander alienated from the government who joined the Turks, a general circumstance described by Pachymeres. She cites all the sources and previous discussions, placing great importance on the association of Mihal with Harmankaya, and concludes (263): "the explicit evidence for the family's hereditary command of the infantry troops of the area strongly implies that this situation originates in the nascent years of the Ottoman state with the forefather of the family—Köse Mihal." For the military organization of the region of Eskişehir under the early Ottomans, with evidence beginning in the reign of Orhan and discussion of a document of 1466 that associates Harmankaya with Mihal bey, see Doğru 2005, 107–16.
119. Kiprovska 2013, 266, illust. 2.
120. See Kiprovska 2013, 261 n. 72.
121. Gazimihal 1958, 128f.
122. Refik 1924, 134.
123. According to a document quoted by Beldiceanu 2003, 360n58, the *zaviye* was in Eskişehir, which of course is not on or near the Sangarius. Either there were two places of the same name or the tradition is seriously confused.
124. The same name was applied, for example, to the Roman obelisk outside Nicaea: Pococke 1745, 123; and the bridge of Justinian over the Sangarius near Adapazar is still called Beşköprü, "Five Bridge" from its five arches.
125. Von Diest and Anton 1895, 16.
126. Sahin 1981, 32, von Diest and Anton 1895, 15.
127. Ibn Battuta 325.
128. See the description of the French engineer Pouillaude quoted by von Diest and Anton 1895, 9f., cf. 13.
129. Von Diest and Anton 1895, 15f., with 13f. for the general characteristics of the valley.
130. Ibn Battuta 328.
131. Evliya Çelebi IV.172.
132. See Kinneir 1818, 264f. for the town and its surroundings.
133. Von der Goltz 1896, 260–9.
134. Kinneir 1818, 264–71 (Taraklı-Bolu), von der Goltz 1896, 255–8.
135. Ibn Battuta 329, there called Kaynuk.
136. Evliya Çelebi IV.172.
137. See the description and comments of Ayverdi 1966, 145–8.
138. Ayverdi 1966, 10–12.

139. Ibn Battuta 330–4.
140. Von Diest and Anton 1895, 111f.
141. For the road, see French 1981.
142. Ayverdi 1966, 170f.
143. Ayverdi 1966, 201–4.
144. Giros 2003, 217.
145. Lefort 2003, 104; Grelois 2003, 124f.
146. Grelois 2003, 123f.
147. Evliya 13, 42f.
148. Ayverdi 1966, 15f., 205–16; the dervish lodge is the building that drew Dernschwam's attention. There seems to be little evidence for attributing the bath to Osman.
149. Pococke 1743, III.121.
150. MacFarlane 1850, I.220f., Texier 1862, 144; Mordtmann 1925, 69; Sarman 2001, 5.
151. Geyer-Lefort 2003, 25f.
152. Fortifications first reported by Kaplanoğlu 2000, 26.
153. Hamilton 1842, 84, 90; Texier 1862, 142f.; Giros 2003, 224. For Kirmasti, see p. 82f.
154. Beldiceanu 2003, 369 n. 137.
155. Evliya 13, 43; MacFarlane 1850, I.103; Giros 2003, 221.
156. Hasluck 1906, 300; Giros 2003, 222f. (with plan).
157. But see the objections of Beldiceanu-Steinherr 2003, 371.
158. Hasluck 1910, 78–83; cf. Foss and Winfield 1986, 147f.
159. For the second, now called Balabancık Hisarı, see Ayverdi 1966, 8f. Its undistinguished masonry of mortared rubble and occasional brick courses could suit this period.
160. Beldiceanu-Steinherr 2003, 369 n. 140.
161. Evliya 4, 205.
162. von der Goltz 1896, 122, see his map p. 114; not on the Turkish 1:200,000 map.
163. Foss and Winfield 1986, 156; Giros 2003, 217f., with sketch plan.
164. von der Goltz 1896, 121f., 403; Giros 219; Yıldırım 2006, 42–5 suggests a date of the twelfth–fourteenth century on the basis of the rough fieldstone facing with little brick.
165. Discovery and discussion: Foss 1990, 166–73; cf. Giros 2003, 217–19, with plan; detailed description: Yıldırım 2006, 46–67.
166. von der Goltz 1896, 10; Evliya 4, 174. Description and dating: Yıldırım 2006, 72–6. The correct form of this name, which appears under various spellings, seems to be Kara Çepiş, "black yearling goat," not surprising in a country that has Goat, Sheep and Shepherd castles, and perhaps reflecting some local folk tale.
167. Pachymeres I.149.

168. Evliya 4, 173.
169. Beldiceanu-Steinherr 2003, 370 with n. 141.
170. It is hard to know where to put the state of "Qawiya," ruled by Murad al-din Hamza and sometimes associated with Geyve. See the discussion in Chapter 7.
171. Foss 1990, 176. An alternative identification might be Büyük Kale, on the river about two kilometres to the south: Giros 2003, 220.
172. See the comprehensive discussion by Whitby 1985.
173. The river was heavily fortified: for surviving structures between the gorge and Adapazar, see Foss 1990, 176, and Mağara and Sefiler, both discussed in more detail by Yıldırım 2006, 84–7, 95f., and between Adapazar and the sea: Yıldırım 2006, 88–94 (Harmantepe, also called Söğütlü: Giros 2003, 220). These forts can all be associated with the late thirteenth century strengthening of the Byzantine frontier.
    For Ak Yazıı, see von Diest 1898.
174. Texier 1862, 91; von der Goltz 1896, 401–10, esp. 408; Giros 2003, 216.
175. Osman seems to be a bit confused here: Bay Hoca fell in the battle with the *tekfur* of Inegol at the Ermeni Pass at the very beginning of Osman's wars of expansion (APZ 3); the nephew who was killed at Dimboz was Aydoğdu son of Gündüz (APZ 17).
176. See the Appendix in Chapter 6.
177. Giros 2003, 212, and, for its history in the Byzantine period, Bondoux 2003, 391f.
178. Evliya 8, 142f.
179. See the Appendix in Chapter 6.
180. Von der Goltz 1896, 320–69.
181. Note the remarks of MacFarlane 1850.II.448 and Dörner 1941, 9–11.
182. Kandıra: Ayverdi 1966, 130f.; Akça Koca: ibid. 131f.; wooden mosques: ibid. 120–33.
183. See Aygil-Özcan 2012, 69–82 for the foundation and early history of the monastery.
184. Janin 1964, 451f.
185. Çelik 2011, 45–54 with excellent illustrations.
186. Evliya 3, 69.
187. Yalakabad: Evliya 13, 42; Çoban Kale surveyed and discussed: Foss 1996, 63–8; cf. Giros 2003, 215.
188. *Anonymous* 14–16; this passage is translated from a slightly different version by Inalcık (1993) 83f. Note that the extract from Neşri translated on 85f. relates to Osman's earlier attack on Nicaea in 1306–7.
189. Inalcık 1993, 87, 89.
190. Giros 2003, 215f.
191. See: http://www.kurucasile.gen.tr/1530-yilinda-bolu-sancagi-koy-adlari-2/
192. For Orhan's coins, see p. 143f.
193. Fontanier 1829, II.95f.

194. Hasluck 1906, 67–73.
195. See above, p. 63.
196. See p. 122.
197. Lebas 1845, 39. See Hasluck 1906, 68–87 for the country, its remains and its roads; cf. Munro and Anthony 1897 and for Mihaliç Texier p. 156.
198. Yerasimos 1991, 66f.; the best description is probably that of van Egmont 1759, 174–89.
199. Texier 1862, 143; Hasluck 1906, 74f.
200. These remarks deal only with internal consistency of APZ; confrontation of his narrative with the Byzantine will follow in a later section, "Reconciling the Accounts."
201. Al-Umari 340.
202. Ibn Battuta 456.
203. For the geography of this region, especially of the plain of Prusias/Düzce, with extensive citations of the travelers, see Robert 1980, 11–106.
204. Ibn Battuta 456–60.
205. See further discussion, p. 138.
206. See Angold 1975, 250–75.

2
The View from Byzantium

In order to put the rise of the Ottomans into a context—and ideally to check the Turkish sources against those from outside their realm, in the hope of finding confirmation or inconsistencies—it may be useful to consider the entire decline of Byzantine Asia Minor in the time of Osman and Orhan.[1] Byzantine sources are indispensable for their details and chronology. They begin with George Pachymeres (1242–c.1310), born in Nicaea, educated in Constantinople, and recognized as a leading intellectual of his day. A cleric—apparently a deacon—he served in the high legal offices of the patriarchate. His massive and enormously detailed history covers the period 1260 to 1308 and pays special attention to Asia Minor as he chronicles the decline of imperial power there. Often critical of government policy and corruption, he presents his material objectively and provides all we know (in a literary tradition) of Osman particularly and the Turkish invasions in general from Osman's first appearance on the scene at the battle of Bapheus in 1302 until his defeat by the Mongols in 1307. Pachymeres presents the half-century from 1258 to 1307 in considerable detail in a virtually impenetrable pretentious classicizing style.[2]

Pachymeres' work was taken up by Nicephorus Gregoras (c.1290–1360), who carried the story down to 1358. A highly educated polymath and a teacher much involved in the ecclesiastical controversies of the day, he was entrusted with important commissions by the reigning emperors, all of whom he knew. Gregoras presents the 1340s in particular detail and devotes much space to theological controversies. He pays much less attention to Asia Minor than Pachymeres, but provides a basic outline of events in a relatively clear classicizing Greek.[3]

The latest period covered here is the subject of the memoirs of an emperor, John Cantacuzene (1295–1383), who reigned from 1347 to 1354 and was responsible for inviting the Ottomans to cross into Europe. Well-connected by birth, he moved in the highest circles until triumphing in a civil war that made him emperor. Forced from power by another civil war, he devoted much of his long retirement (as a monk) to producing a detailed account of his career and accomplishments, much of it notably self-serving.

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Reigning at a time of growing Turkish power, he had close relations with Orhan and with Umur emir of Aydın, providing considerable information about the empire's relations with the Turkish rulers of Anatolia.[4]

If Aşıkpaşazade (APZ)'s work is like a song of triumph ever increasing in tempo, Pachymeres produces an unremitting dirge, for his story is one of loss, corruption, incompetence, and betrayal, as the empire tried in vain to maintain its grip on its ever-diminishing Asian territories. To understand the process, a brief glimpse backward at the confrontation between Byzantium and the Turks will set the stage.

Everything followed from the battle of Manzikert in 1071, when the Turkish leader Alp Arslan defeated the army of the overextended Byzantine empire. Its emperor was captured and the succeeding civil wars left its frontiers open to an unlimited advance that saw a Turkish sultanate established in Nicaea and other states springing up on the Aegean seaboard. Thanks to help from the First Crusade, the emperor Alexius (1081–1118) managed to push the Turks back onto the Anatolian plateau. His successors John and Manuel regained control of the coasts of Asia Minor and achieved an equilibrium with the Seljuks of Konya. They could reach a settlement with an organized state, but not with the scattered and seemingly innumerable Turkish tribes, which defied all authority and raided deep into Byzantine territory. The empire responded with a defensive system based on fortresses that they built throughout their lands. These served as bases for the army, refuges for the population, and a deterrent to attackers. Notable among them was the network of the Neocastra established by Manuel in central-western Anatolia between 1162 and 1173.[5]

No sooner was this done than Manuel, in an effort to smash the Seljuks, met disaster at Myriokephalon in Phrygia in 1176. His ambushed army was destroyed and frontier defenses collapsed, leaving the country open to Seljuks and tribes. The effects were felt quickly: the last outposts of Byzantium on the central plateau, the powerful fortresses of Dorylaeum and Cotyaeum, fell respectively before 1180 and in 1182 to become Sultanyuki/Eskişehir and Kütahya, valuable frontier posts for the Seljuks. The southwest coastal region of Lycia was also lost by 1191, but the fate of the strategic outpost of Laodicea was more complicated.[6] This fortified city was of special importance because it controlled access from the plateau to the fertile Maeander valley. Turks captured it in 1193, but lost it twelve years later to Theodore Lascaris, who in 1206 ceded it to the renegade Manuel Mavrozomes, father-in-law of the Seljuk sultan. He held it until 1230, when it reverted to the sultan. In 1256, however, at a time of Seljuk weakness, Byzantium once

again occupied Laodicea, only to lose it to Turcomans, who established the first state based on tribes and formally recognized by their Mongol overlords around 1261.

The next disaster was the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The Byzantine realm broke up completely, with small independent states springing up in Asia Minor, at Nicaea, Philadelphia, Priene, Laodicea, Pontic Heraclea, and Trebizond. Of these, the Bithynian domain of Lascaris became the empire of Nicaea by subduing all the rest except Trebizond, an empire of its own. Not surprisingly, these years saw impressive Seljuk gains, notably the major ports of Attalea on the Mediterranean in 1207 and Sinope on the Black Sea in 1214. That was taken from Trebizond, for by then Seljuks and Nicaeans were at peace after a significant Nicaean victory at Antioch on the Maeander in 1211, which brought a half-century of relative peace and stability to western Asia Minor. The Lascarids took advantage of this time to erect or restore fortresses and city walls throughout their domain.

The final decisive events—the Mongol defeat of the Seljuks and the recapture of Constantinople—did not look like disasters for Byzantium. In 1243, the Mongols, newly arrived on the scene, decisively crushed the Seljuks. This seriously weakened the Seljuk state, who soon lost control of the frontier tribes, now more able to encroach on Byzantine territories. Finally, in 1261, the Nicene empire regained Constantinople, a victory that was to prove ominous for Asia Minor, since the restored empire now had to deal with numerous adversaries in the west. For that, they tended to transfer troops from Anatolia, further weakening the defenses of that frontier.

In 1256, Michael Palaeologus, then governing Bithynia but fearing for his future under a new emperor Theodore II, crossed the Sangarius and fled to the Turks. Here, "he came to the dwellings of the Turcomans. This is a people who occupy the furthest boundaries of the Persians [Seljuks] and feel implacable hatred for the Romans [Byzantines], delight in plundering them, and rejoice in booty from wars; this especially at the time when Persian affairs were agitated and thrown into confusion by Tatar [Mongol] attacks."[7]

Pachymeres set the scene for what follows by explaining that the eastern frontier was protected by mountains and by the holders of land grants who received generous subsidies and fought well as long as they were paid; but when their pay was cut, whether from corruption or war expenses, they were capable of moving away or even joining the enemy at a time when many frontier fighters were being transferred to the wars in Europe. Those who surrendered voluntarily became guides and allies, allowing the Turks

to make inroads into imperial territory and occupy strongholds there.[8] This was at a time when many Turks, fleeing from the Mongols, were moving into defensible positions in the mountains. The situation was made worse by the impossibility of dealing with the nomads. The Seljuk government, such as it was, couldn't hold them back and their insidious infiltration was hard for Byzantium to control. Treaties made with Konya were of no help, and agreements with the tribes, who would violate them at a moment's notice, proved useless.

Michael Palaeologus, as emperor (1258–1282), took a serious interest in the Anatolian frontiers. One of his first actions, early in 1259, was a campaign that brought the whole army in a show of force to Philadelphia, where he inspected the frontier fortifications, installed garrisons and made lavish gifts to the defenders.[9] Yet keeping the frontier warriors happy was difficult, for three years later, the peasants of the strategic mountain pass above Nicaea (a place called Trikokkia is specifically mentioned) revolted.[10] They followed a blind boy who claimed to be the young emperor John IV Lascaris, deposed and blinded by Michael. When the imperial forces moved against them, the rebels, who knew the country and occupied the heights, held them off in classic guerrilla warfare. They finally accepted an amnesty which involved good treatment for those who surrendered, but harsh punishments for the resisters. The punishments, however, could not be excessive as these peasants were too essential for defending the frontier. The government also had to be wary in dealing with the population of Anatolia, where support for the patriarch Arsenius, whom Michael had deposed for his condemnation of the emperor's usurpation, was widespread. Adherents of the patriarch, called Arsenites, maintained their opposition to the imperial church establishment until 1310. The revolt provided an ominous example for the future.

For forty years, from the 1260s to 1304, the main Byzantine effort was directed at the Aegean region—the rich, fertile, and strategic plains of the Cayster, Hermus, and Maeander lands that generated far greater wealth than Bithynia, and were the places where the most successful Turkish states were first established.[11] The upper Maeander valley and adjacent regions were the goals of expeditions that Michael led in 1260 and 1261 in response to Turkish attacks.[12]

In 1264, the emperor's brother, the despot John, led a campaign based on the Maeander; he secured that as well as the Cayster and provided for the soldiers of Magedon in northern Lydia. He transferred some of these skilled archers to Europe with good pay and consolidated the position of those who remained by coming to an arrangement with the Turks that would put

limits on the areas they could exploit for grazing.[13] Nevertheless, he could not recover the coastal regions of Strobilos and Tracheia south of the Maeander. Likewise, the Byzantine position beyond the Sangarius in eastern Bithynia and Paphlagonia was collapsing because of high taxes, engendered partly by imperial extravagance and by a desire to keep the locals too poor to revolt. Hostility to the government impelled many poor farmers, especially those on the frontier, to join the Turks who accepted those who joined voluntarily. They collaborated in harassing the loyalist population, with the result that many emigrated, leaving room for the Turks to infiltrate. The emperor did nothing in the belief that the districts were near at hand and could easily be recaptured; he was devoting his attention to the west.[14]

When John returned in 1267, he found a desperate situation. The Turks were overrunning imperial territory in the absence of adequate defense: populations had fled from the once-prosperous Maeander valley, while the Cayster region, the mountain pass of the Neocastra, Abala, and Magedon were all under attack. Coastal Caria, Byzantine until recently, had become the base for enemy pirates. Paphlagonia beyond the Sangarius was virtually depopulated, with only fortified towns on the coast surviving (they could no longer be reached overland).[15]

A curious incident in Nicaea gives some insight into the jittery mentality of the time. On February 23, 1265, in the middle of the morning, a rumor suddenly spread that a great force of Mongols had attacked Nicaea, slaughtering the guards at the city gate, and killing everyone they met as they entered. The population panicked: a crowd gathered and started rushing around, while others sought safety by hiding in houses and tombs. The city's governor, accompanied by his garrison troops, came out to see what was happening and put himself at the front of the crowd. Prisoners from the local jail, who escaped when they heard the city was taken, joined them. The augmented throng rushed to the east gate, where attack was most likely, only to find that nothing had happened. From there they hastened to the other gates, but found no Mongols. It finally turned out that the rumor had started when people heard a group of women, in procession behind an image of the Virgin, imploring God in tones of lamentation to spare the people from the Turks and Mongols. Those who heard thought the women were weeping because the city had actually been taken, and spread the rumor that caused the panic. When the news of these events reached Constantinople, the emperor castigated the population, pointing out how irrational their fears were since the Mongols had only just arrived in Asia Minor from Persia, warning them to stay on their guard in the future.

The incident reveals not only a state of mind—a population swift to panic at the thought of attack from the east—but a present reality; the long-established enemy, the Seljuks, with whom a *modus vivendi* had been reached, were now weakened and largely replaced by the far more formidable Mongols at a time when the Byzantine defenses were being undermined by the transfer of men and resources to Europe. Although Nicaea was still at some distance from the frontier, the defensive system no longer inspired confidence in the face of Mongols and the bands of Turkish tribesmen released by the weakening of central power in Anatolia.[16]

The Mongols had inspired special fear since 1256, when a Mongol army invaded Asia Minor where they settled on new grazing lands, and when the Mongol lands of Iran and Anatolia were organized into the Ilkhanid sultanate. After a vain attempt to resist them, in which the self-exiled Michael Palaeologus took part, the Seljuk sultan Izz al-Din fled to the relative safety of Byzantine territory. Two years later, Mongol power looked even more overwhelming when they took Baghdad and brought an end to the 500-year-old Abbasid caliphate. Yet the greatest danger for Byzantium lay not in the manifest power of the Mongols, who represented a regime that could be dealt with, but in the insidious infiltration of the lawless Turcoman tribes.

For a century (with a few exceptions) relations between Byzantium and the Seljuks of Rum had been stable, even favorable. That was particularly true of the years from 1211 until the appearance of the Mongols on the scene. The Byzantines rapidly understood the changed situation and began to shift their alliance from Seljuks to Mongols. Already John Vatatzes (1222–1254) had ordered fortresses to be well stocked with food and weapons against the arrival of these unknown people, whom some thought had dogs' heads or were cannibals. More realistically, in 1257, Theodore Lascaris exchanged embassies, in the process trying to impress the Mongols with the power and splendor of Byzantium.[17] This led to a treaty between Michael Palaeologus and the Ilkhanid sultan Hulagu in 1260, which recognized the Mongols' dominion without even mentioning the Seljuks, who disappear from Michael's diplomacy.[18] Diplomatic exchanges continued, culminating in a marriage alliance in 1265 with the emperor's illegitimate daughter Maria sent as bride to Hulagu; when he died before her arrival, she was married to his son and successor Abaqa.[19] At the same time Michael had also entered into relations with the Mamlukes of Egypt, anxious to secure the trade route to the Black Sea, the source of the slaves who formed the major element of their military and ruling class.[20] Around 1270, Michael

sent an embassy with rich presents to Nogay, commander of the Golden Horde north of the Black Sea, to secure protection against the king of the Bulgars who was threatening imperial territory. This led to another marriage alliance where another illegitimate daughter of the emperor was married to what the Byzantines called a Tatar.[21] By these means, Michael established good relations with all the local great powers, whatever their mutual hostility may have been. More immediately, he protected his eastern frontier at a time when he faced major threats from the west; he was safe from the Mongols, but not from the tribes.

Michael recognized that much of the problem of the eastern frontier stemmed from corruption (government officials pocketed the subsidies for the frontiersmen) and falsely optimistic reports of the situation, for example that lost places could easily be recaptured. In 1280 and the two following years, he personally went to the Sangarius frontier, to inspect and bolster the defenses.

In 1281 after a sally across the river that only drove the Turks into temporary retreat, he decided that pursuit into such rough and deserted country, where he found only the camps of the nomads, would be fruitless. Instead, he built forts on both sides of the river and blocked its banks with branches of trees. He returned to Prusa. The next year, he strengthened the riverine defenses, then withdrew to Lopadion in Mysia, where he planned to fortify the region of Achyraous, but died soon after. This land was far west of the frontier, an indication of the vulnerability of the imperial possessions.[22]

Meanwhile, in 1280, Michael sent out an army under his son Andronicus to rescue the empire's Asian possessions from a drastic situation: the Maeander and Cayster regions with Antioch, Miletus, and Priene had already been lost, as had Magedon, because of the paucity of defenders, while the districts closer to the capital were seriously weakened.[23] According to Marino Sanudo, writing in the 1330s, Michael had left the Maeander region without protection against the frequent attacks of the Turks whose leader, "Turquenodomar Mandachia" had taken control; he mentions especially the large lake abounding in fish which generated substantial revenue for taxation.[24] The prince's expedition started well: he defeated the Turks "between Ionia and Lydia," advanced to Laodicea, secured Philadelphia and cleared the Cayster valley of the enemy. Then, however, he embarked on an extravagant project to rebuild the city of Tralles, largest of the Maeander region. He squandered his effort and resources on rebuilding and repopulating the city, but failed to provide it with an adequate water supply; he then returned to Nymphaeum and the capital, still in 1280. Consequently, when the forces of "Salpakis

Mantakhias" (i.e., Menteşe) arrived on the scene in 1284, after defeating the Byzantines at Nysa, some thirty kilometers upstream, he had no difficulty in capturing and devastating Tralles, which long remained abandoned.[25] So far, the accounts of the numerous expeditions to the frontiers describe their adversaries as "Persians" (i.e., Turks) or "enemies"; Menteşe is the first leader to be mentioned by name—and the only one until Osman and others appear almost twenty years later.

Andronicus II, now emperor, returned to Bithynia in 1283/4, leading his forces to Nicomedia, the Sangarius, and Nicaea. During his march from there to Lampsacus and Adramyttium, he defeated Turks in "Lydia."[26]

In 1290, Andronicus embarked on a long tour of his Asiatic provinces. He stayed in Nicaea, visited the Sangarius frontier, then moved via Lopadion to Nymphaeum, which he made his headquarters. Altogether, he stayed three years, mostly in regions that were still relatively secure.[27] It was probably then that substantial repairs were made to the walls of Nicaea[28] (Fig. 2.1).

Fig. 2.1 Nicaea: tower of Andronicus II

To deal with the most threatened districts—notably in the upper Maeander where the Turks were crossing in large numbers—Andronicus sent his nephew Alexius Philanthropenus with full powers over the Maeander and Hermus regions in 1293.[29] This began auspiciously: Philanthropenus gained the trust of the troops, whom he paid well. He drove off a Turkish attack on Achyraous, then moved on to Philadelphia without trouble. Between there and the Maeander, he won a major victory. In 1295 he took Priene and the island fortress of Duo Bounoi (Fig. 2.2) the latter from the widow of "Salampakis" who guarded her husband's treasure there, as well as the city of Miletus, many of whose Turkish defenders joined him out of fear of the Mongols.[30] He pacified and secured the Maeander and Cayster valleys, regaining territory that had been lost since 1280 or before. But when his troops, sick of the incompetent and corrupt government, wanted him to become emperor, he raised the standard of revolt. His movement soon collapsed when Livadarios, governor of the Neocastra, pretending to join him, seized and blinded the successful general. The expedition had lasted more than two years.[31] The Turks who had joined Philanthropenus, having lost their goods and property, devastated the frontier regions so severely that Pachymeres wondered whether this paved the way for the massive irruption of Turkish tribes that followed in the next decade.[32]

Fig. 2.2 Menteşe's island fortress

Philanthropenus had come at a good time for defeating or suppressing Turks in the Maeander region for in October 1291 the Ilkhan Gaikhatu, who had been governor of Anatolia, set out with a huge army to restore order in his southwest frontier.[33] He captured Laodicea and massacred its population and devastated the lands of Menteşe among others. His campaign lasted until June 1292. This ferocious expedition would have left Menteşe and its neighbors seriously weakened. This makes it easy to understand the Turks' fear of the Mongols and their willingness to join Philanthropenus.

In 1296, Andronicus set out again for the east, this time heading for the Black Sea port of Chele, but only got as far as the suburbs of the capital when the whole region was struck by a devastating earthquake, a bad omen that precluded further advance.[34] Yet there was still hope: in 1298, a new leader John Tarchaniotes took the field with a different policy. He found that the big landholders had gotten rich but accomplished very little, while the small peasants, essential for defense, were struggling. He therefore carried out an equalization, redistributing land and wealth. He was having some success rebuilding army and fleet when jealousy and intrigue brought him down. Prominent among his enemies were the landowners and officials who had profited from corruption—and continued to do so even more.[35]

Pachymeres' narrative becomes especially detailed for the years 1302–1305, when Byzantine power in Asia Minor finally collapsed, but is silent for the five preceding years, when the Turks first broke through the frontiers on a large scale. In 1298, when Tarchaniotes made Pyrgion his base, the empire still controlled much of Ionia, Lydia, and Bithynia; five years later, it was in a desperate situation, its remaining territories being attacked from all sides. Plainly, something had happened, but Pachymeres is silent, only hinting that the revolt of Philanthropenus lay in the background. For Gregoras, looking back at these events, it seemed that the tribal leaders were operating in collaboration against the empire.[36] These years were a time of widespread revolts against the Ilkhans, a situation from which the tribes could be expected to profit as the central government was distracted or weakened. The most dangerous among them was the revolt of the governor Sulemish (November 1298–April 1299; summer–autumn 1299) who for a moment gained control of all Anatolia, with particularly destabilizing effect since he had the support of the Turcomans of the frontier—that is, the region between the central Anatolian plateau and the sea.

There is evidence for at least one strategic area leading a normal existence as late as 1301. An inscription of that date from Alexandria Troas (near the mouth of the Dardanelles) records the sale of vineyards and fruit trees by a

local (unnamed) monastery to one Manual Gavras for forty hyperpera, a sum which he subsequently donated back to the monastery for the salvation of his soul.[37]

It is striking that a whole range of Turkish chiefs suddenly break through the Byzantine frontiers at the same time. Perhaps Gregoras knew what he was doing when he wrote of collaboration. Four of these chiefs—Aydın, Menteşe, Sasa, and Germiyan—were all connected by blood, marriage, or subordination. They could, in theory, have worked together, devastating and occupying the Aegean region. But that leaves Osman and the Paphlagonians. If the whole lot were to operate jointly, there was only one force that could compel them. That is, the descendants of Genghis Khan, the Ilkhanid Mongols, whose domain stretched from Byzantium to eastern Iran. But in principle they were hostile to the tribes, who had joined the revolt of Sulemish, and their own ambitions were directed toward Syria rather than Asia Minor.

In 1302, a body of over 8000 Alan warriors, who had been employed by the Mongol Golden Horde, offered their service to Andronicus. He received them with enthusiasm; they seemed like a windfall at a time when Asia Minor was in critical condition. The emperor sent the elite of the Alans, along with Byzantine troops, with his son and co-emperor Michael IX, to Magnesia in April. Here, they had to face harassment from the (unnamed) Turks who could flee to their hilltop fortresses. The imperial forces hesitated to attack, ostensibly afraid of endangering the life of the emperor. Eventually, virtually under siege in Magnesia, they decided to withdraw, on which news the Turks raided as far as the Menemen plain, halfway to Smyrna. Finally, the Alans determined to leave, being used to rapid successful campaigns with the Mongols rather than inactivity. This came at a time when Amourios, Lamises, "Atman" (Osman, his first appearance in a historical source), and many others were attacking imperial territory.[38] Eventually, in the winter of 1302/3, the emperor slipped away at night to the relative safety of Pergamum. Of the panic-stricken crowds who tried to follow, many succumbed to the winter cold, the stampede or were captured by the Turks. After this, many left their homeland for Pergamum, Adramyttion (on the sea) or crossed the Hellespont to the relative security of Europe, abandoning their property and means of livelihood.[39] For some, the exodus had begun early in 1302 when the inhabitants of Pylopythia—the region of Yalova on the sea of Marmara—took refuge in the Princes Isles off Constantinople, only to be attacked and looted there by pirates allied with Venice.[40]

Meanwhile, Leo Muzalon, governor of Mesothynia (the land between Nicomedia and Constantinople), with a small force of Byzantines and Alans, was passing through Nicaea enroute to Nicomedia. After being ambushed twice on the way, he came face-to-face with a Turkish force much larger than his own at Bapheus near Nicomedia on July 27, 1302.[41] Osman was joined by men from Paphlagonia and the Maeander, the two regions with large populations of nomad Turcomans independent of any central authority.[42] The battle was a Turkish triumph: although the Alans fought bravely, Muzalon and the survivors rushed to take refuge within the walls of Nicomedia, leaving Osman victorious for the first time over a Byzantine army.[43] At that time, the governor of Nicomedia was a converted Mongol, "Koutzimpaxis," whose daughter was married to "Solymampax," the leader of a band occupying territory around Nicomedia; they apparently did not play a role in this battle.[44]

In the general picture of loss and misery, it is easy to lose sight of the obvious. The battle of Bapheus may have marked a step on the downward course of Byzantine Bithynia, but Nicomedia, where Osman won his victory, did not fall to the Turks until 1337, thirty-five years after Bapheus. Likewise, the beleaguered cities of Prusa and Nicaea held out against all odds for twenty or more years.

The situation in Bithynia, though, was certainly dire: defense of the civilian population collapsed, the local economy was disrupted as houses and crops were destroyed, and the rural population fled to wherever they could hope to find security—to the fortified cities of Nicomedia, Nicaea, and Prusa, or to Constantinople and the islands. Mysia, west of Bithynia, also offered refuge in the inland fortresses of Lopadion and Achyraous, or in the seaports of Cyzicus and Pegae. But the Turks ravaged the open countryside as far as Adramyttion where the emperor had established his headquarters. In all this, the Turks came away with immense quantities of prisoners, animals, loot, and harvested crops. Yet they still hesitated to attack the peninsula west of Nicomedia and avoided the suburbs of the capital.[45]

This after they had shocked the residents of Constantinople on December 13, 1302, when a force of Turks appeared at Scutari across the Bosphorus from the capital. Their leader was probably Osman, active in the area, but the raid had no aftermath.[46]

The sea was rapidly becoming less safe, for the Turks started to build ships and in 1302 to use them to raid the offshore islands of Chios, Samos, Carpathos, and Rhodes as well as the Cyclades which they devastated and virtually depopulated.[47] These may have been the actions of Menteşe, well established on the coast of Caria.[48]

Pachymeres offered a gloomy prospect of the year 1303: devastation was everywhere and every day got worse: apart from a few strongholds, Bithynia, Mysia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Asia—all of Byzantine Asia Minor—were ruined. The historian here enumerates the agents of this disaster, the heads of the incipient Turkish states then being carved out of Byzantine territory, describing them by the names of their leaders in the plural.[49] Since they will be met again, it is worth looking at them more closely in the order Pachymeres presents them.

Amourioi: Ales Amourios and his Brother, Sons of Amourios

Atmanes: the followers of "Atman," i.e., Osman

Atinai: Aydın

Alisurai: Alişir of Germiyan

Mantakhiai: Menteşe

Salampaxides: perhaps another name for Menteşe[50]

Alaides: unidentified, but Alais will appear below, ravaging the Hermus valley

Ameramanai: probably Emir Yaman, founder of the Candaroğlu dynasty of Paphlagonia.[51]

Lamises: unidentified; appeared in 1302 with Osman

Sfondulai: unidentified

Pagdinai: perhaps Karesi[52] . . . and other cursed names.

The local landholding defense forces, who fled as their houses and lands were devastated, could not be replaced in the prevailing chaos, nor was it possible to come to terms with the invaders because there were too many different bands and leaders, and even if a deal could be made, any tribesmen who did not like it would decamp and join another band. Meanwhile the co-emperor Michael IX had reached Cyzicus, whose archbishop had organized local defenses and care of the flood of refugees. But Michael, in fear of Turkish attack, left the city for the greater security of the heavily fortified seaport of Pegae, further west, where he fell ill.[53] He only returned to the capital in January 1304, having accomplished nothing.

The Aegean regions were not much better off than Bithynia. In 1303, a chief named Alais was ravaging the Hermus valley when news arrived that the emperor was making an alliance with Ghazan, khan of the Mongols. Looking for a safe place for his men and the loot they had accumulated, he

came to Sardis, which had a powerfully and virtually inaccessible acropolis, where the local population had taken refuge (Fig. 2.3). Alais proposed to the defenders to share the castle. They reluctantly agreed since an arrangement with the Turks would allow them to bring in water and sow their crops, while the Turks promised to leave them in peace, attacking only others. A wall was built in the citadel to keep the newcomers separate from the natives, but when it appeared that the Mongol threat was fading, the Turks planned to turn on their neighbors. The locals managed, however, to send word to the imperial commander Nestongos Doukas, who attacked the fortress by night and disposed of the Turks.[54]

Alais was not alone in his fear of the Mongols. A Turkish chief from Paphlagonia, known only by the Byzantine form of his name, Ales Amourios, had put together a band of fighters and defeated the son of the former Seljuk sultan Izz ed-Din, who himself had killed Amourios, father of Ales Amourios, all this apparently in the region between Kastamonu and the Sangarius in the last decade of the thirteenth century.[55] In alliance with the Turks of Kastamonu, he had devastated the regions beyond the

Fig. 2.3 Aerial view looking north toward Acropolis of Sardis. © Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College, reproduced with permission

Sangarius, but refrained from open hostility against the empire, whose frontier along the Sangarius was in any case heavily fortified. In March 1302, however, unwonted spring floods caused the river momentarily to change course and brought down masses of rocks and debris that made it possible to cross and caused the defenders of the fortresses to flee.[56] Ales Amourios at first held back, but when he heard of Osman's successes between Nicaea and Nicomedia he abandoned his agreement with the emperor and allowed his men to join in the general devastation. It was probably this activity that caused him to be included among the chiefs who were ravaging imperial territory. Two years later, though, when news arrived of the death of Ghazan, he requested the district of Mesonesion west of the Sangarius from the emperor as a place where his forces could settle in security and provide protection for the imperial lands beyond. He did this, according to the historian, because he wanted to ingratiate himself with Byzantium or in fear of what a new Mongol ruler might bring. While waiting for a reply, some of his men moved in anyway, harassing the local population who were trying to harvest their crops.[57]

Alais and Ales Amourios had reason to worry, for Andronicus was following his father Michael's policy of alliance with the all-powerful Mongols against the Seljuks and Turcomans. Michael VIII had already betrothed his illegitimate daughter Maria to the Ilkhan Hulagu. But he died in 1265 before the princess reached his court. Instead, she married Hulagu's son Abaqa, and stayed with him until his death in 1282. Subsequently, she returned to Constantinople where she founded a monastery; she will reappear in this narrative.[58] Andronicus, faced with the imminent ruin of his position in Asia Minor, with the immediate threat to Philadelphia, and despairing of his armies and mercenaries, proposed an alliance with Ghazan, Ilkhanid ruler since 1295, who had recently suppressed a widespread revolt in Anatolia. The emperor's natural daughter was to marry Ghazan who in turn would help against the Turks. But before the negotiations were complete, Ghazan suddenly died at the age of thirty-two in May 1304. This was devastating news, until the court learned that Ghazan's brother and successor Uljaytu Khodabende (whom the Greeks called by his personal name Kharbanda) planned to carry on his brother's policies. Consequently, another embassy was sent proposing the same marriage alliance and asking for armed assistance, with results that will appear next.[59]

By that time—and destined to make things even worse for Byzantium—a heavily armed professional force, the Catalan Grand Company, engaged by the emperor in a desperate effort to restore his failing fortunes in Anatolia,

had landed in Cyzicus in September 1303, under the command of their Grand Duke Roger de Flor.[60] There, they found a broad, fertile, and well-populated peninsula highly desired by Turks who were camping nearby. The Catalans struck quickly and mercilessly: they killed the men and sent the women and children as slaves to the emperor. In the spring of 1304, they set out for Achyraous, then south over the mountains to Germe where they hoped to trap the Turkish force that had occupied the town, but it escaped.[61] From there, they marched through Chliara (Fig. 2.4) to Philadelphia where the local fortresses had surrendered to Alişir of Germiyan, most powerful of the Turkish chiefs.[62] Among the losses was the stronghold of Tripolis which commanded the pass from the Maeander to Philadelphia[63] (Fig. 2.5).

The city was well fortified and had laid in abundant supplies, but these were not sufficient when subjected to a long siege. Eventually the locals came to terms with the Turks, allowing their merchants to enter the city. Alishir, however, took advantage of the situation to smuggle in weapons and to take Tripolis, which he made his base.[64] In a battle at Aulax near Philadelphia, the Catalans were victorious, forcing Alişir, wounded, to withdraw to Tripolis, where he organized harassing attacks before retiring to Amorium in Phrygia. The Catalan chronicler of these events reports that Philadelphia (whose walls were eighteen miles long!) was under attack by

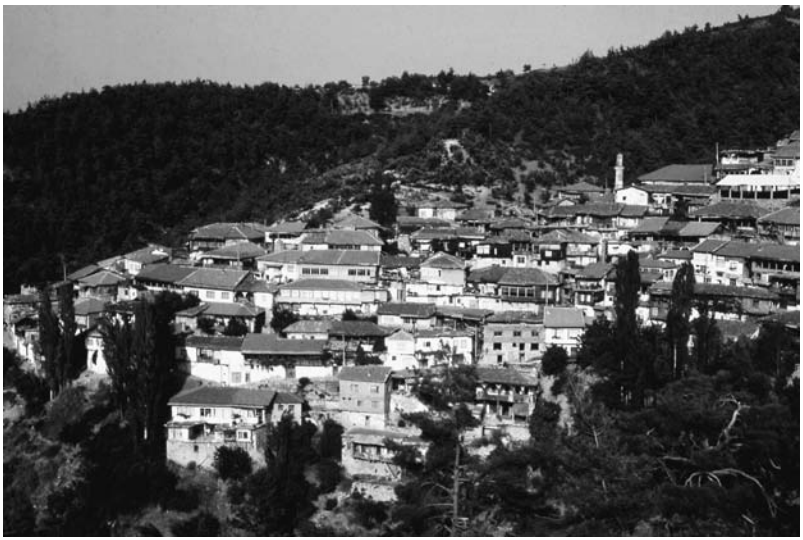

Fig. 2.4 Chliara: a Byzantine military base, secure in the mountains overlooking the plain [40]

Fig. 2.5 Tripolis

the bands of "Sasa and Tin"—i.e., Sasan, who will be met again shortly, and Aydın[65] (Fig. 2.6). This does not contradict the narrative of Pachymeres, which features Alişir, for both Sasan and Aydın were allies or subordinates of Germiyan.[66]

The Catalans did not pursue Alişir out of fear of ambushes. Instead, they spent two weeks in Philadelphia where they were welcomed, moved west to the region of Kula, then to Nymphaion and Magnesia, and on to the Cayster valley towns of Pyrgion and Thyraia, where they beat off a Turkish attack by men who had escaped from the battle at Philadelphia joined by tribesmen of Menteşe, and to Ephesus. Everywhere the Catalans went they were welcomed by the people, whom they proceeded to treat savagely, demanding as much money as they could forcibly extract. They were especially harsh to the commanders of cities who had by necessity been forced to yield to the Turks.

When he was in Thyraia, the Grand Duke received news that Catalan reinforcements were on their way. He went down to the port of Anaia to meet them and there won more victories over the Turks.

Like the leaders of the marauding Turkish tribes, Roger needed a safe place for his loot and supplies. He chose Magnesia whose long walls enclosed a city in a naturally strong position at the foot of a mountain (Fig. 2.7). But when he returned there after a successful expedition, he found the city in

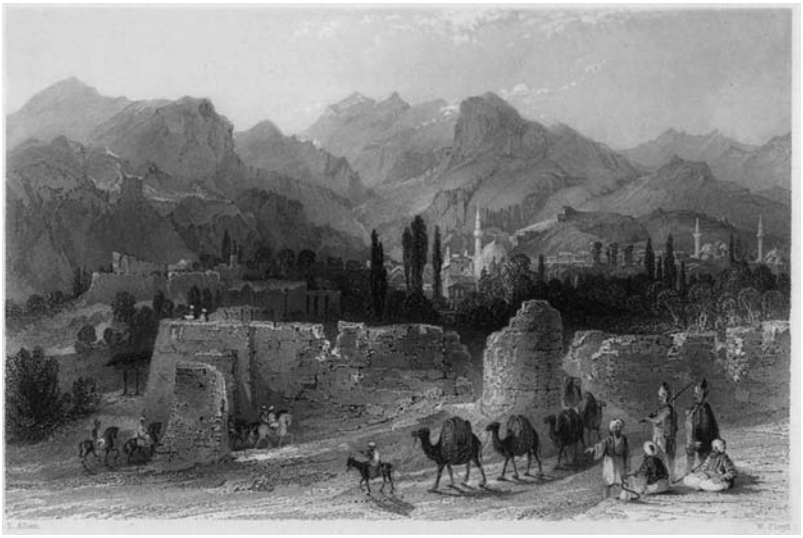

Fig. 2.6 The walls of Philadelphia. © History and Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo

Fig. 2.7 Walls and citadel of Magnesia © History and Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo

the hands of a certain Attaliotes, an imperial equerry who was in revolt against the emperor and had prevented the governor Nestongos Doukas from entering the city.[67] He soon came to terms with Roger, to whom be submitted. The cause and the circumstances of the city's revolt are unknown, but it seems probable that the locals were taking defense into their own hands as the emperor proved unable to save the country from the devastation inflicted by the Turks. It is unlikely that Magnesia was alone in breaking with Constantinople. If many did, it would offer some explanation for the Turks' mention of *tekfur*s as if they were independent commanders of their cities.

In the Summer of 1304, after conquering and looting Pyrgion and Ephesus, Roger returned to Magnesia where he had left horses and a large treasure, only to find the gates shut against him, for the Catalan reputation for ferocity and extortion had preceded him.[68] The locals, trusting in a detachment of Alans, a year's supply of wheat and a secure source of water, and bolstered by the prospect of seizing Roger's goods, prepared for a siege. Attaliotes urged them on. They massacred all the Catalans in the city. Roger attacked with siege machinery; the Magnesians responded with the jeers and mockery he detested. As the siege dragged on, the Turks returned, devastating the countryside and leaving only a few terrified populations behind their walls.

At this point, a message arrived from the emperor, requesting the Catalans to come to his aid in a war with Bulgaria. They agreed and set off by sea to the Dardanelles, leaving strong garrisons in the cities they had conquered in Anatolia, and planning to return there the following spring (1305). Roger abandoned the siege of Magnesia, extorted money from the cities on his route, crossed to Mitylene and then to the Gallipoli peninsula, where the Catalans caused even greater trouble for Byzantium.[69] Meanwhile, a body of Alans wound up at Pegae, where they camped outside the walls and managed to defeat the attack of a much larger Turkish force.[70] In Magnesia, Attaliotes was still in charge, revolting against the emperor, after the departure of the Catalans; his ultimate fate is unknown.[71]

The Catalan victories proved ephemeral as the provinces they rescued suffered almost as much from their exactions as from Turkish attack, left less capable of resisting attack, even if they wanted to; for them, imperial rule was a mixed blessing indeed.

Two isolated incidents at this time give a rare view of conditions in the far northwest of Anatolia. A certain Machrames, otherwise unknown but described as an important servant of the emperor, lived on the Scamander

river in the Troad. When the Turks, who had occupied the region of Mount Ida, advanced, he took refuge in Assos, where he was welcomed and put in charge of defending the besieged coastal city. Eventually, the despairing defenders moved off to the apparent security of nearby Mitylene and Machrames reluctantly joined them. But by supremely bad luck, the Catalans were there. They seized Machrames, demanded a huge ransom, and, when he could not pay, tortured and executed him, Assos, left empty, was presumably taken by the Turks who, ironically, appear to have named it Behramkale after its unfortunate defender.[72]

Still in 1304, an adventurer named Choiroboskos put together a small private army of men armed with bows and clubs believing that he could pick off isolated detachments of Turks. He approached the fortress of Kenchreai, where much of the population of the Scamander valley had taken refuge. The defenders welcomed the new force, which at first drove off the Turks, but when the Turkish horsemen came back in larger numbers, Choiroboskos was captured and killed because he couldn't raise the demanded ransom. The Turks captured the town by cutting it off from its water supply, massacred its defenders, looted the place, and burned it down.[73]

Pachymeres surveyed the losses of 1304 in a pessimistic account rich in toponyms.[74] No place beyond the Bosporus was safe as Turks camped where they liked, attacking in small groups, hard to catch, rather than mass campaigns where they might be met in the field. Chele and Astrabete, on the Black Sea, and even Hieron at the entrance to the Bosporus were under attack. Belokome, Angelokome, Anagourdys, Platanea, Melangeia, and all places around were emptied of inhabitants, while Kroulla and Katoikia suffered as much or worse. This panorama of devastation evidently represents the situation in Bithynia, tantalizingly naming places of some importance in these struggles. The seaports pose no problem; Melangeia (known also as Malagina) is on the Sangarius; Kroulla lies just southwest of the lake of Nicaea; but the rest remain unidentified. But note that Angelokome is not Inegol, nor is Belokome Bilecik; Katoikia is apparently not Kite.[75]

Nicaea was increasingly isolated: the roads from Neakome and Heraklion on the Gulf of Nicomedia were closed; Pylopythia (the district of the major port of Pylae/Yalova) suffered like the region of Nicomedia. The only route available was the overgrown and disused road from the port of Cius, where travelers spent the day, then proceeded by night to Nicaea, over the lake to the only gate that was safe to open. The emperor sent Sgouros, a commander of crossbowmen, to relieve Katoikia raising the hopes of its defenders, but the enemy arriving in force blocked the roads and crushed Sgouros' force

whose survivors fled the scene. Osman, returning from this battle, attacked Belokome which had taken the imperial side, killed the defenders and took control of the fort and a large treasure, gaining security from the fortresses he now controlled. While these small places were abandoned or conquered, widely separated cities like Prusa and Pegae suffered from the influx of refugees, exacerbated in Pegae by plague and famine.[76]

In 1305, Kouboukleia, northwest of Bursa and long since fortified, was attacked by the Turks of Atares, an unidentified leader. The town's only hope was from Lopadion, where the governor had arrested half the Catalans left when their commander Roger de Flor had hopes of carving out his own domain in Anatolia. He sent the other half against the Turks, but they deserted, joined the attack, took the town, and killed its defenders.[77]

In one case at least, the locals took defense into their own hands. Late in 1305, a monk called Hilarion, who had been sent to look after the needs of the monastery of Elegmoi (on the coast due north of Bursa) by its mother church in Constantinople, found Turks looting the district daily. He organized a local force, beat back the Turks, and took up watch over the countryside. In doing so, he was violating a long-standing prohibition of monks taking up arms and was forbidden to continue by both his abbot and the patriarch. Hilarion appealed to the emperor who was sympathetic, but the process took so long that the Turks returned in force, massacring all they could lay their hands on. When he finally got permission to proceed, Hilarion fortified the district as much as possible, but the Turks (evidently of Osman though he is not named) occupied the whole surrounding district as they attacked Bursa which was forced to pay a large bribe in exchange for what the historian called the shadow of peace, not a real peace.[78]

A letter of the patriarch Athanasius I, written around 1306, confirms the desperate situation of this coastal region. Reproving the metropolitan bishop of Apamea for not going to his see, the patriarch notes that the entire region was under attack by "wild beasts" and "Arabs" (i.e., Turks) and that amid much bloodshed, the locals had taken refuge in the fortresses of Myrsine, Syke, Rhodophyllon, and Muntania.[79]

Meanwhile, the emperor ordered the rich monasteries of the capital to send their surplus grain to the starving population of Asia Minor. He was also taking measures to renew an alliance with the Mongols. Their khan Kharbanda (Uljaytu) responded favorably by putting together a force of 40,000 of which half, under his cousin, had reached Konya. He only waited for the emperor to tell him where and against whom the entire force should be sent.[80] An alliance was all the more desirable because news arrived that

Sasan, who had asserted his independence from his father-in-law, Menteşe, took Ephesus on October 24, 1305, after blockading and taking Thyraia in the Cayster valley, to which he deported much of the population of Ephesus.[81] By this time, Turks had taken the entire coastland except for the ports of Adramyttion and Phocaea, occupied by the Genoese Manuel Zaccaria and guarded, Pachymeres reports, by the martial bravery of the Italians.[82] The situation in Bithynia was no less dangerous. Andronicus sent a relative by marriage, Kassianos, to regulate the situation of Mesothynia, but this proved abortive when the general, denounced by a tax collector he had maltreated, took refuge in Chele where he was arrested and brought to the capital.[83]

During the next two years, the Mongols became an important part of the scene. In 1306, as the emperor was preparing a marriage alliance with them, he learned that Nicaea was under threat. He sent an army along with his sister Maria, (known as the empress of the Mongols because she was widow of the previous Ilkhan) to make arrangements for the marriage of the princess with Kharbanda, and to deal with the Turks. Once installed in the city, she threatened to call in the Mongols against Osman.[84] When he learned that a Mongol army had indeed moved into Asia Minor, Osman attacked ferociously, tearing up vines and destroying the harvest. He moved against strategic Trikokkia, the "rampart of Nicaea," and took the place by filling the ditches in which the defenders had confidence, in the summer of 1307. He slaughtered the defenders and, filled with self-confidence, he awaited the Mongols, if they should come.[85] By then, he had conquered the entire region between Nicaea and the sea.[86] The 30,000 Mongols sent by Kharbanda now arrived on the scene, with a greater effect than hoped: they pushed back the Ottomans who were forced to abandon all the Byzantine forts they had occupied and to take refuge in the Bithynian Olympus above Prusa.[87] This was the first defeat Osman had suffered; it held him back for the next twenty years.

At this point, the story takes leave of its primary source, Pachymeres. He leaves a scene where Prusa is paying tribute for a dubious security, Nicaea temporarily rescued from blockade, and the Ottomans forced to withdraw to the mountains. In 1307, imperial fortunes in Bithynia are on the verge of collapse, but… nothing happened. When the far less informative Gregoras carries on the narrative, the situation has not changed: in 1326, when Ottomans reappear on the scene, Prusa, Nicaea and Nicomedia are still under threat; Bithynia is somehow holding out, though elsewhere Byzantine power is fading rapidly. This hiatus will need explaining, especially since the Ottoman sources are equally uninformative about these years.

There appears to be only one sole mention of Bithynia in these intervening years, a decree of the patriarch and his synod of October 1318 directed to the metropolitan bishop of Prousa (Bursa).[88] The authorities, recognizing the irregular and straitened circumstances of the time, assign the neighboring bishopric of Apamea (Mudanya on the Sea of Marmora) to the jurisdiction of Prusa, requesting the bishop to look after Apamea's Christian population and monks. In other words, the bishopric of Apamea could no longer be maintained independently but needed to be put under the care of its larger neighbor. This indicates that Prusa had a functioning church, was still under Byzantine control, and had access to the sea. It seems not to have been under blockade. Nothing more is known.

Bithynia may have been quiescent, but there was no lack of activity elsewhere as the Byzantine position in Anatolia slid toward total loss. The Catalans had been a last hope, but when they left, the Turks renewed their attacks. Already in 1305, Ionia, with Ephesus, Pyrgion, and Thyraia, was in Turkish hands, as were the coastal regions. The remaining imperial outposts were in a desperate situation, despairing of help from Constantinople which had no armies to send. By 1308, when many fortresses had been under attack for four years, they called on Charles of Valois, the pretender to the imperial throne (through his relationship to the defunct Latin Empire). When he also was in no position to help, the Hermus valley, with Magnesia, Sardis, and Nymhaeum fell to the Turks by 1310.[89] According to the traditional interpretation of the sources, however, Magnesi was taken in 1313, to be followed two years later by Nymphaeum, where the Lascarids had built their palace.[90]

In 1310, Philadelphia, saved and plundered by the Catalans six years before, was under siege again, suffering from a growing shortage of supplies. The defense was led by the metropolitan bishop Theoleptos who personally went to the Turkish commander. Out of respect for the prelate, he agreed to lift the siege and to accept a tribute instead. The money was used to build a medrese in Germiyan's capital, Kütahya.[91] Germiyan and Aydın returned in 1322, when they besieged the city and its outlying bulwark, Fort St. Nicholas. Although they employed catapults and made the inhabitants miserable for a year and seven months, they failed to conquer, for the emperor, short of men and money and unable to send a force so far into the interior through enemy territory, sent the aged Philanthropenus who had such a favorable reputation among the Turks that they abandoned the siege and Philadelphia was able to prosper. It drew its wealth from its fertile territory and successful trade in high-quality textiles, especially silk, and leather. The siege had lasted a year and seven months.[92]

Soon after, in 1327, the ferocious Mongol governor of Anatolia, Timurtash, arrived in Philadelphia, not to attack the city but to bring Germiyan and Aydın to order and to support the independence of Philadelphia, subject to the emperor who was allied with the Mongols.[93] Mongol influence, however, was nearing the end, for the Ilkhanid state fell apart after the death of its last effective ruler, Abu Sa'id, in 1335.

The momentous fall of Prusa received only scant notice when it succumbed on April 6, 1326: "In these days when no one was taking care of the East, most of the cities and lands of Bithynia fell to the Turks. Prusa, a city besieged by hunger, was taken."[94] Likewise, the fall of Lopadion, which controlled the strategic bridge over the Macestus that had marked the western limit of Osman's conquests, in April 1327, is only reported by a sentence in a short chronicle which does not even tell to whom it fell (most probably Orhan but conceivably Karesi).[95] If "no one was taking care of the east," it was because the empire was embroiled in a civil war between the old emperor Andronicus II and his grandson Andronicus III. It began in 1320 and was only resolved in 1328.

In 1328, the new emperor Andronicus III sailed to Cyzicus where he inspected a region he had not seen before, but more importantly intended to enter negotiations with Temirhan, son of Yahşı, the emir of Karesi, described as the ruler of Phrygia, who had been putting pressure on the eastern cities of the Hellespont subject to the empire. He proceeded to Pegai where he met the emir. Temirhan and his men dismounted from their horses and prostrated themselves before the emperor. When the two rulers met the next day and exchanged gifts, Temirhan promised not to attack the Byzantine lands, a promise he faithfully kept.[96]

In the spring of 1329, Andronicus, frustrated by the constant Turkish attacks on his territory and anxious to relieve Nicaea, then under direct threat, decided to make a campaign into Bithynia. He sought the advice of Kontophre, governor of Mesothynia, who, knowing the Turks extremely well, told the emperor to move quickly before they made their annual migration into higher ground, where they would be impossible to pursue. Consequently, an army was recruited from the European provinces, with 2000 elite troops and a mass of poorly trained artisans and peasants. The emperor in person led them, together with his right-hand man, the grand domestic John Cantacuzene (the future emperor John VI whose eyewitness account preserves details of the campaign). They marched for two days into Bithynia, where they met the larger Turkish force in the plain of Pelekanon on June 10. Orhan, forewarned of their approach, occupied the higher

ground. The Byzantines were successful at first but could not follow up their advantage because of the mobility of the Turks and the configuration of the land, full of hills and ravines suitable for ambushes. They celebrated a victory and planned to withdraw, but the emperor had an accident and rumor flew that he had been fatally wounded. At that, the troops fled to the neighboring fortresses of Philokrene, Niketiaton (Fig. 2.8), Dakibyza, and Ritzion. They then rallied and attacked Orhan, who withdrew to his camp. The next day, they returned to the capital. At first sight, this looks like a Byzantine victory or at worst a draw, but in fact the expedition failed in its objective. However superior the Byzantine army may have been, it could not inflict a real defeat on the mobile enemy or establish a secure position outside the fortified places.[97]

This was the last imperial offensive in Asia Minor. As soon as the army was gone, the Turks returned to harass the country, block the routes, and achieve their goal: Nicaea fell two years later, on March 2, 1331, after a long siege that threatened the defenders with starvation. The Turks sold sacred books and icons as well as the relics of two female saints. They extended their control over the coastal regions and imposed heavy taxes on the towns.[98]

In 1330, Andronicus learned that Orhan had surrounded Nicomedia and set up siege machines for a major assault. He promptly embarked foot soldiers and cavalry on whatever merchant ships he could find and set sail.

Fig. 2.8 Niketiaton

Defending the city was crucial for it played major role in the food supply of the capital.[99] As Cantacuzene approached Nicomedia, a message arrived from Orhan seeking peace. Gifts were exchanged and an agreement made that Orhan would be a friend of the empire and not attack its possessions. Andronicus then visited the city which he had never seen, brought in supplies and stayed a week. It was probably on this occasion that he agreed to pay Orhan 12,000 hyperpera (Byzantine gold coins) a year to guarantee security for the fortresses of Mesothynia, from Nicomedia to the capital.[100]

Three years later, as he was about to march against Bulgaria, Andronicus received news that Orhan was preparing to attack. "Nicomedia," wrote Cantacuzene, "could not be taken by weapons or force because of its circuit of extremely strong walls and the powerful nature of the site. It feared only lack of provisions. The barbarians, who understood this, ignored the walls, which they could not capture by siege, and hastened to occupy the approaches by which the city was fed" (Figs. 2.9, 2.10). The emperor abandoned his Bulgarian plans; loaded men, horses, and grain on battleships and freighters; and set out. The Turks withdrew on news of his approach. Andronicus spent two days in the city, unloaded the grain, and encouraged the defenders by his speeches.[101]

While this was going on, the empire faced increased problems from Aydın. In 1317, Mehmet of Aydın had taken the hilltop fortress and city of

Fig. 2.9 Nicomedia: Byzantine walls

Fig. 2.10 The gulf of Nicomedia

Smyrna from the Byzantines by surprise.[102] This did not involve control of the port however, for it had a separate fortification under Genoese control that Mehmet's son Umur only captured in 1329 after a long siege. With that, he embarked on a spectacular career that would involve building fleets, attacking imperial possessions in Thrace, Greece, and the islands, and eventually entering into an alliance with Cantacuzene.[103] In 1329 or 1330, his brother Hızır supported Umur in a successful attack on Chios. The constant brigandage was such a threat to the Christian powers that they formed a union (*Sancta Unio*) to combat the Turks: after long negotiations, Venice, the knights of Rhodes, Cyprus, and the king of France joined under the patronage of the pope, put together a fleet and inflicted heavy losses on the Turks, but when the pope died in December 1334, the union broke up and Umur and his allies resumed their unwelcome activities.[104]

1335, when the Byzantine position in Bithynia was on the verge of collapse, was a momentous year for relations between Umur of Izmir and the empire.[105] Early in the year, Umur, together with the son of the emir of Saruhan, led a massive attack of 276 ships on Greece. In the summer he attacked Philadelphia—a long siege which finally terminated in the city agreeing to pay tribute. Later in the year, alarmed by the Turks' success, Cantacuzene met with Umur at Clazomenae, west of Izmir. He persuaded Umur to renounce the tribute of Philadelphia and entered into an alliance that was to prove permanent.[106] Shortly after, the emperor Andronicus

himself had an interview with Umur in a galley off the coast of Kara Burun, the mountain massif between Izmir and Chios. They confirmed the alliance, directed at least in part against the Genoese who occupied Phocaea and Lesbos.[107]

At this time, the emperor, with substantial support from Saruhan "who ruled the lands east of Phocaea" had been besieging Phocaea (then in the hands of the Genoese) during which he received a friendly visit from Umur, Hızır, and Suleyman, the sons of Aydın. This led to the interview at Clazomenae, after which the Genoese accepted terms: Lesbos and Phocaea would return to imperial control, Saruhan would continue to provide supplies to Phocaea, where the Genoese would retain their ancient privileges, along with the right to trade freely throughout imperial territories.[108] After the agreement with Cantacuzene and the emperor, Umur received a subsidy, subsequently provided mercenary troops, and from now on attacked Frankish territories and even Bulgaria, but not the remaining Byzantine lands and outposts. He was rapidly becoming a major power in the Aegean and Balkans.

At the beginning of summer 1337, as Gregoras recounts, the people of Thrace had to suffer yet again at the hands of the Asiatic Turks. Those of Ionia held back because of the treaty recently made at Phocaea, but the Turks of Troy and the Hellespont (i.e., Karesi) loaded their men and horses and attacked Thrace, from which they withdrew on terms after being beaten in a skirmish. But the same summer brought terrible news from Asia: that "Orhan son of Atuman, ruler of Bithynia," had been secretly putting together a force that would strike from Asia in two divisions: from Hieron and from the Propontis, both directed against the suburbs of Constantinople, which they had not reached before and there to loot and burn the harvests. They planned to capture two fortresses close to the capital and use them as bases for future attacks. The grand domestic Cantacuzene put together a small force and with his few ships met the Turks at Rhegion, only 110 stades from the capital, where he inflicted serious losses on them with only minor casualties on his side.[109]

Gregoras rather casually tells of a major loss in Asia Minor, which marked the collapse of the Byzantine position in Bithynia and definitive triumph of Orhan: "At this time (1338), when the emperor was paying no attention, Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia, was taken, suffering from great hunger because of the prolonged siege by the enemy."[110]

In the summer of 1341, Cantacuzene learned that Saruhan of Lydia and Yahşı of Pergamum were planning a joint descent on Thrace. To protect himself from attack from behind while dealing with this threat, he sent an embassy with a huge bribe to Orhan, "satrap of Bithynia," who agreed to

make peace. Cantacuzene then met Yahşı's troops who arrived in Thrace in two waves, beating them so badly that the emir agreed to peace terms. Cantacuzene's fleet successfully dealt with Saruhan and ravaged his coastal towns.[111] The same year, Cantacuzene entered into alliance with "Aliseres satrap of Cotyaeum" (Alişir of Germiyan) who promised to send infantry and cavalry against Saruhan in an envisioned expedition to destroy their hostile fleet.[112] In all this, the emperor was using the traditional Byzantine strategy of setting one barbarian against another, and finding that his bribes could produce at least temporary alliances.

In 1345, during a destructive civil war that pitted Cantacuzene against the dowager empress Anna, a certain John Vatatzes, who had been an ally of Cantacuzene, switched sides, joined the empress, and attacked towns and villages in Thrace loyal to Cantacuzene. He brought a large army thanks to his close alliance with Suleyman, "satrap of Troy" who had married his daughter.[113] Unfortunately for him, Cantacuzene withdrew men and animals into fortified positions, leaving the Turks little to loot. Feeling themselves misled, they killed Vatatzes and joined Cantacuzene, once again illustrating the unreliability of mercenary forces.[114]

By 1346, it was obvious that Orhan was the dominant figure in western Asia Minor and in the best position to hurt or help Byzantium. That summer he sent an embassy to Cantacuzene, asking for his daughter in marriage and proposing an alliance. Cantacuzene hesitated, asking advice. He sent to his friend Umur for his opinion, who approved on the grounds that Orhan could aid the empire easily and directly while he had to send his forces across foreign territory (i.e., Saruhan). The marriage was celebrated at Selymbria on the Sea of Marmora, and the alliance concluded. News of this stirred the empress Anna, engaged in hostilities with Cantacuzene, so she sent to Saruhan for a force to use against him. Saruhan sent the men, but they wound up joining the other side, thanks to a stratagem employed by Umur, who had pretended to join them. A casual mention in Cantacuzene's narrative shows that Heraclea and Amastris on the Black Sea were still in Byzantine hands.[115]

In these years, Umur's fleets constantly ravaged Western-controlled Thrace and Greece, sometimes in alliance with the neighboring emirs of Saruhan and Karesi.[116] His exploits stirred such anxiety in the west that the pope proclaimed a crusade against him in 1344. Although the Christians failed to eliminate their nemesis, they did manage to capture the harbor fort of Izmir, severely crippling his activities. This did not stop him from attacking Philadelphia yet again, in March 1348, aided by his brothers. This time, the Turks gained a foothold on the walls, but they were pushed back and

both sides came to an agreement by which Umur promised to leave the city in peace. In fact, he actually planned another attack to take place over Easter, but in the meantime, he left with the elite of his forces for Smyrna, where he hoped to recapture the fort.[117] During the battle, he took off his helmet and received a fatal arrow. With that, the Europeans lost an enemy, the empire a friend, and the Muslims their leading fighter.

As Nicephorus Gregoras wrote, "Umur was the most powerful of all the satraps, exceeding the others in enthusiasm and daring. Ruler of Lydia and Ionia, he filled the sea with his fleet, and in a short time his command of the sea made him fearful to the Aegean islands but also to the Euboeans, the Peloponnesians, the Cretans and Rhodians and of the whole shore from Thessaly to Byzantium. He could raid them with his fleet whenever he liked and extracted heavy yearly taxes from them. Soon, for Cantacuzene, whose fame spread, with applause and long hymns, to land and sea, he was an ardent and passionate friend. He promised to maintain his voluntary friendship for his whole life to him and the children who succeeded him. He kept his word to the end, in a way, I think, no other age could show."[118]

This narrative ends on a pathetic note: late in 1352, the beleaguered citizens of Philadelphia managed to get an embassy through to the pope, then in Avignon, pleading for help against the Turks and offering to submit themselves and their city to the pope and the Roman church in all temporal matters in perpetuity. The pope unhelpfully replied early in 1353 that they should abandon the schism (i.e., Orthodoxy) and recognize the primacy of the Roman church in order to avoid the eternal punishments that were far more serious than the danger from the Turks.[119]

Philadelphia managed to survive, but the next year, on March 2, 1354, a devastating earthquake brought down the walls of Gallipoli and a force commanded by Orhan's son Suleiman, operating in the vicinity as ostensible allies of Cantacuzene, moved in and stayed. This occupation of a European foothold turned out to be the beginning of a new age for Orhan, Byzantium, Europe, and the whole western world.[120]

Notes

1. By far the most comprehensive and critical account of these events is that of Arnakis 1947, 71–197.
2. Hunger 1976, 447–53; Neville 2018, 237–42.
3. Hunger 1976, 453–65; Neville 2018, 243–8.

4. Hunger 1976, 465–76; Neville 2018, 266–72.
5. The headquarters of this district were Adramyttion on the coast and Pergamum and Chliara in the Caicus valley. For some of its fortresses see Foss 1982, 166ff., 185–8 and Foss 1998, 160–6.
6. See Cahen 1951 and Korobeinikov 2014, 220–7 *et passim*.
7. Acropolites 315.
8. Pachymeres I.3–5 (1.27–35), III.22 (1.291–3). Reference to Pachymeres will consist of two numbers: the first gives the traditional book and chapter; the second denotes the volume and page number of the Failler edition.
9. Pachymeres II.6 (1.139f.).
10. Pachymeres III.12, 13 (1.259–67). Trikokkia is to be identified with Karatekin, which occupies a strategic position on the only approach to Nicaea that could be described as a mountain pass (*zygos*).
11. Between 1260 and 1295 there were at least seven Byzantine campaigns to the Cayster/Maeander region, but only four to Bithynia. Most instructive are the operations of 1304 when Andronicus II sent his son Michael IX to Magnesia with a large force, including the majority of the Alan mercenaries, while Muzalon in Bithynia got only a small force with fewer Alans.
12. Korobeinikov 2014, 226f.
13. Pachymeres III.21 (1.289–91).
14. Pachymeres III.22 (1.291f.).
15. Pachymeres IV.27 (2.403–7). For Abala, a fortress occupying a strategic location on the road from the Hermus valley to Phrygia, see Foss 1979, 302–4; Magedon, evidently in northern Lydia, has not been located. The Black Sea ports mentioned were Kromna, Amastris, Tios, and Heraclea. See also the more general account of Gregoras I.138–42 who attributes the outburst of Turkish attacks to the collapse of Seljuk authority at the hands of the Mongols and stresses Paphlagonia as the base of the tribal forces.
16. Pachymeres III.28 (1.317–25).
17. Pachymeres II.25 (1.187f.).
18. Pachymeres II.24 (1.185). For relations between Byzantium and the Mongols 1260–1310, see Korobeinikov 2014, 203–16.
19. Pachymeres III.3 (1.235).
20. Pachymeres III.3–5 (1.237–43); Dölger *Regesten* 1902–1904 (Nov. 1261–Nov. 1262).
21. Pachymeres V.3 (2.443–9); Dölger *Regesten* 1977.
22. Pachymeres VI.22, 25, 29, 34 (2.599, 623, 633–7, 657); Korobeinikov 2014, 248F. For the important fortress of Achyraous, see Foss 1982, 161–6.
23. I take Pachymeres' *endotero* "more inward" as denoting territories in their relation to the center, Constantinople.
24. Hopf 1873, 145; see Wittek 1934, 47f., for interpretation of the name as "Turkmen of the Sea." For the lake, see n. 30.

25. Pachymeres VI.20–1 (2.591–9); cf. Korobeinikov 2014, 249f. For Salpakis, see Failler 1994, 86f., and for the fate of Tralles, Lemerle 1957, 37.
26. See Korobeinikov 2014, 257–61 for the chronological problems associated with this and the following expedition.
27. See Failler 1990, 15–28, with full references.
28. Foss & Winfield 1986, 112–14.
29. Korobeinikov 2014, 265–9.
30. "Salampakis" is apparently the same as "Salpakis" who took Tralles in 1284: see n. 25. Planudes calls him "Salamates." Duo Bounoi is to be identified with Ikizler, the fortified islands in the Milesian Lake (formerly the Gulf of Miletus, now Bafa Gölü): Wendel 1940, 438–43. See the description, with plans and illustrations, of Wiegand 1913, 30–41.
31. Pachymeres IX.9–14 (3.237–57), Gregoras I.195–202; cf. Schreiner 1969, 376–83. Details of the expedition are given in the letters of the monk Maximos Planoudes: see Korobeinikov 2014, 264–6.
32. Pachymeres IX.14 (3.257).
33. For these events in a different context, see "The Overlords," pp. 157–162.
34. Pachymeres IX.15 (3.259f.).
35. Pachymeres IX.25 (3.285–9); Korobeinikov 2014, 269–71. Tarchaniotes made his headquarters in Pygion, a powerful site overlooking the Cayster valley. He eventually took refuge from his enemies in the local monastery of S. George formerly the temple of Zeus, as Pachymeres writes, reflecting the ancient name of the city, Dios Hieron.
36. Gregoras I.214: "the satraps of the Turks made an alliance (*synaspismon*)," "the Turks, who had already made an agreement, distributed by lot all the land of the Roman dominion in Asia."
37. See the discussion of Avramea 1981 who determined the correct location of the inscription.
38. For Amourios and Lamises, see pp. 109, 111.
39. Pachymeres X.16–21 (4.337–49), X.24 (4.355); Gregoras I.204ff.
40. Pachymeres X.23 (4.355–7).
41. Treiyer 2017 proposes that the date should actually be July 27, 1299, marshalling a broad range of sources from the steppe to Cairo, some more convincing than others. The subject deserves more detailed discussion than would be appropriate here.
42. These will be discussed in Chapter 6.
43. Pachymeres X.25 (4.359–67).
44. Pachymeres X.20 (4.379f.), XII.1 (4.507). "Solymampax" may be Suleyman paşa, emir of Kastamonu, but note the doubts of Failler 1994, 90f.
45. Pachymeres X.26 (4.369).
46. Patriarch Athanasius ep. 37, with the commentary of Talbot 345f. referring to the parallel notice of Muntaner. This event was not recorded by Pachymeres.

47. Pachymeres X.29 (4.377).
48. As Zachariadou 1983, 6 supposes, but Pachymeres' qualification of the Turks as *endotero* suggests something closer at hand, perhaps Karesi whose settlement and actions in this period are unknown.
49. Pachymeres XI.9 (4.425); for the identifications, see the magisterial discussion of Failler (1994). The parallel text of Gregoras (I.214f) will be discussed below, p. 164f
50. As argued by Failler 1994, 86f.
51. Beldiceanu-Steinherr 2000a, 429f.
52. See Zachariadou 1993b, 227, who, by emending the text of an inscription that gives the family tree of the emirs of Karesi, proposes an identification with Bagdi beg, ancestor of the dynasty.
53. Pachymeres XI.9 (4.425f.).
54. Pachymeres XI.16 (4.441f); cf. Foss 1976, 1299, 81–3.
55. For the confusing course of these events, see Korobeinikov 2014, 276–81; cf. Beldiceanu 2003, 360f.
56. For this flood and its consequences, see Lindner 2006, 102–16.
57. The story of Ales Amourios is presented disjointedly by Pachymeres and is not free from contradictions or loose ends; see Pachymeres X.20, X.25, XI.9, XII.1 (4.349, 359, 363f., 425, 507) and the important discussion of Failler 1994, 96–104.
58. Pachymeres II.24 (1.185f.), III.3 (1.235), V.24 (2.515).
59. Pachymeres XI.16 (4.441f.) XII.1(4.503–7), XIII.13 (4.647).
60. For the Catalan campaign, see Pachymeres XI.14, 21, 23–6, XII.3 (4.437f, 463, 467–85, 527f.), and Muntaner 204–7. For its chronology, see Failler 1990, 84f.
61. For the disputed location of Germe, see the discussion of Jones 2014, 36–43.
62. For the location of Chliara, see Foss 1998, 160–6.
63. For the site and its remains see Foss 1979, 299–304.
64. Pachymeres XI.25 (4.475–9).
65. For the walls of Philadelphia, really about five miles long, see the comprehensive discussion of Pralong (1984).
66. See below, pp. 172f., 181.
67. Pachymeres XI.24 (4.471).
68. Pachymeres XI.26 (4.483–5).
69. Pachymeres XII.3 (4.527), Muntaner 208–10.
70. Pachymeres XI.31 (4.497).
71. Pachymeres XIII.4 (4.628).
72. Pachymeres XI.26 (4.481f.).
73. Pachymeres XI.27 (4.487f.). Pachymeres recounts another version by which Choiroboskos escaped from captivity and went on to join imperial forces in defeating Turks around Thessalonica.
74. Pachymeres XI.21 (4.453–7).

75. See Chapter 3, p. **00**. This passage, if further proof were needed, demonstrates that Belokome cannot be Bilecik, for the Ottoman heartland, long since secured, was far from the scene of action here. For Katoikia, see Beldiceanu 2003, 370f.
76. Pachymeres XI.21 (4.455f).
77. Pachymeres XIII.9 (4.635f). For the site, see Hasluck 1906/07, 300, 306f., who reported only "very scanty remains."
78. Pachymeres XIII.17 (4.657); Monastery of Elegmoi: Janin 1975, 144–8; Mango 1968, 169–76.
79. Belke 2007. The three of these sites (except Rhodophyllon) that can be identified are all within ten kilometers of Apamea and thus not far from Elegmoi.
80. Pachymeres XIII.3 (4.647).
81. Pachymeres XIII.13 (4.647f.); for the date, usually considered to be 1304, see Failler 1996.
82. Pachymeres XII.34 (4.609).
83. Pachymeres XIII.24 (4.681); cf. Kyriakides 2014.
84. Pachymeres XIII.25, XIII.35 (4.683, 701).
85. Pachymeres XIII.35 (4.701f.).
86. Pachymeres XIII.36 (4.707).
87. Pachymeres XIII.37 (4.709).
88. Miklosich and Muller 1860, I.80f.; *Regestes du patriarchat* V.62f. no.2086.
89. See the letter of Libadarios to Charles of Valois; Miklosich and Muller 3, 243f. and the discussion of Ahrweiler 1965, 186–8 with references. Ahrweiler would put the fall of the Hermus cities in late 1308.
90. For these dates, see Ahrweiler 1965, 43f., 47.
91. Ahrweiler 1983, 184, 190 with further references; Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1984, 17–22.
92. Gregoras I.361; Schreiner 1969, 389–95. For the local production, Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1984, 29–34, Schreiner 1969, 411f.
93. Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1984, 22–9.
94. Gregoras I.384; date: *ChronMin* I.7.6, I.8.16.
95. *ChronMin* I.8.17.
96. Cantacuzene I.339f. By "Phrygia" Cantacuzene is anachronistically referring to the region south of the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora, known in classical times as Hellespontine Phrygia, but more generally called Mysia. Temirhan was actually the brother, not the son of Yahşı.
97. Cantacuzene I.341–60; Gregoras I.433–7; cf. Lindner (2007). For the forts of the region, see Foss 1996a, 44–61.
98. Gregoras I.458; for the date: *ChronMin*. I.8.24, I.101.3.
99. See Foss 1996a, 24, 44.
100. Cantacuzene I.446–8, *ChronMin* I.8.27.

101. Cantacuzene I.459f. These two attacks pose a serious chronological problem, for the Short Chronicle dates the payment to August 1333, so associated with the event presented here first, for the attack of Cantacuzene I.459 involved no negotiations, while that of I.446–8 specifically involved a place the emperor had never visited before. It seems best, therefore, to presume a mistake in the Short Chronicle.
102. For the fortresses of Izmir, see the comprehensive study of Muller-Wiener 1962, 60–96.
103. Umur is the hero of the *Destan* and the best-known Turkish leader of the age. See the detailed study of Lemerle 1957, with 45–50 for Smyrna, and Inalcık 1985.
104. Lemerle 1957, 89–101. For the complex background of this alliance, see Laiou 1970. Umur's raids and manpower will be discussed next, below, pp. 125–128.
105. For relations between Byzantium and the Turkish states in the 1330s and 1340s, see the sketch of Vismara 1968, which offers rather less than its title suggests.
106. Cantacuzene I.482f.
107. Lemerle 1957, 102–15, with further references. The attack on Philadelphia is narrated only in the *Destan,* but indirectly confirmed by Cantacuzene; cf. Schreiner 1969, 396–401. An attack at this time was opportune, for the same year saw the collapse of the Mongol Ilkhanid empire that had ruled Anatolia.
108. Cantacuzene I.480–2; Lemerle 1957, 110f., Zachariadou 1983, 38f.
109. Gregoras I.538–41; cf. the different account of Cantacuzene I.505f who recounts that news arrived from Trigleia that a Turkish force from the eastern cities that Orhan ruled, with thirty-six ships, was about to attack the neighborhood of the capital that night or the next. Cantacuzene put together a force that defeated the invaders after they had landed on the beach.
110. Gregoras I.545*:* For the date, usually given as 1337 see Gregortas tr. van Dieten, II.2.385f., note 493.
111. Cantacuzene II.65–70, 77, 507.
112. Cantacuzene II.82.
113. Gregoras II.741–3; note the varying account of Cantacuzene II.552–6. There is some confusion about the identity of this Suleyman: for Gregoras, he is *satrap* of Troy but Cantacuzene refers to an unnamed "satrap of Lydia" in the same context. Elsewhere (II.476), he mentions Suleyman "one of the satraps in Asia" or (II.507): "son of Karasi satrap of Phrygia." He appears in the *Destan* (2295) as "son of Karesi." The situation is complicated by the emirs of Aydın, Karesi, and Saruhan all having sons named Suleyman: see Lemerle 1957, 204 n. 1. Note that the coins of Suleyman of Karesi call him Suleyman b. Timur, i.e., son of Timurtash: Ender 2000, 24. These must be given priority as an official primary source.
114. For Vatatzes, see Zachariadou 1993a, 231ff.

115. Cantacuzene II.589–92; cf. the rather different version of Gregoras II.762f., which Lemerle 1957, 220–3 considers inaccurate.
116. Karesi: this was Yahşı of Bergama, not his brother Temirhan of Balıkesir, who maintained peace with Byzantium.
117. Lemerle 1984, 55–67, quoting a Greek text that gives considerable detail about the fortifications. See the detailed study of Couroupou 1981.
118. Gregoras II.597f. This favorable view was not shared by the defenders of Philadelphia in 1348, for whom Umur was a malignant figure, a worshipper of the Devil: see the previous note.
119. Schreiner 1969, 401f.
120. Lemerle 1957, 236f.

3
Reconciling the Accounts

The Turkish and Byzantine sources—basically APZ and Pachymeres—provide detailed accounts of the same periods, the same events, and the same regions, though with very different approaches. Aşıkpaşazade focuses on the Homeland, with an ever-broadening view as Osman and Orhan extend their conquests into Bithynia and beyond. Pachymeres first notices the Ottomans when they strike into Byzantine lands. But from 1302 onward, Turk and Greek alike are presenting the same material. It is natural, then, to hope to find cases where both recount the same event or place, so that the sober Byzantine account can confirm or illuminate the colorful Turkish one. There is no shortage of toponyms for comparison in both sources. Unfortunately, though, such an effort is doomed to disappointment. Obviously, the great cities—Bursa/Prusa, Iznik/Nicaea, and Izmit/Nicomedia—appear in both narratives, in the right locations. But otherwise, there are precious few examples of places or events common to both traditions, and where they exist the Byzantine sources are often in direct contradiction with the Turkish. A few long-favored identifications, based on apparent resemblance of names, turn out to be incorrect:

Sagoudaous is not Söğüt. This place is mentioned only by Anna Comnena (XV.ii.4) in association with Alexius Comnenus' campaign of 1116 against the Turks who were harassing Bithynia and Mysia. Some of the action took place around the lake of Nicaea where Sagoudaous appears as near Fort St. George and on the route that led down to the shore at Helenopolis. Even though its exact location has not been determined, it had nothing to do with Söğüt.

Belokome is not Bilecik, because of phonetics and geography. Bilecik looks as if it could be derived from Belokome, but the resemblance is misleading, for the name of the Byzantine village would have been pronounced something like Vilogume: B was pronounced V (as in Modern Greek) and so normally appears in Turkish toponyms like Vize from Bizye. Initial B in Turkish represents as Greek P as in Bursa from Prousa and many others. Also, -kome ("village") often turns into -güme, for which there are examples in western Asia Minor. In other words, resemblance of these two names is illusory.

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Pachymeres mentions Belokome twice, first in the context of other villages evidently all in the same region: Angelokome, Anagourdys, Platanea, and Melangeia, with Kroulla and Katoikia perhaps lying outside this cluster.[1] Two of these places can be identified: Melangeia, better known as Malagina, is an imposing fortress above the Sangarius, while Kroulla is modern Gürle southwest of the lake of Nicaea. Katoikia has been—probably wrongly—identified with Kite west of Bursa.[2] In any case, these places are evidently in maritime Bithynia, in the general region of the Sangarius and Nicaea, far from inland Bilecik. In the second passage, Osman, returning from defeating a force that had been sent (apparently from Nicaea) to relieve Katoikia, attacked and captured Belokome which had a garrison and a large treasure.[3] Once again, the place is clearly in maritime Bithynia and could hardly be Bilecik, long since conquered by Osman.

Angelokome is not Inegöl, whose name plainly derives from Aya Nikola, presented as the tekfur of the city.[4] The derivation is even more obvious from the Ottoman name of the place, Aynegöl. Inegöl then was evidently called Ayios Nikolaos, exactly like a fort of the same name near Philadelphia which also became Aynegöl (though now called Sarıgöl).[5] Naming forts after saints (presumably the ones who gave them divine projection) seems to have been common: Bithynia also had a Fort St. Gregory near the entrance to the Gulf of Nicomedia and the Fort St. George near the lake of Nicaea mentioned above.[6] Pachymeres also mentions a Fort St. Elias near Ganos in maritime Thrace.[7] The phenomenon of giving the name of a place to its ruler has parallels in APZ: Yalakonya whose name derives from the toponym Yalakova, Kilemastorya from Kimasti, and Mihaliçi from the town Mihaliç (now Karacabey).[8] As for Angelokome, Anna Comnena (XIV.v.3) mentions a river Angelokomites, but that appears to have been far to the west, perhaps in the Troad.

On the other hand, there is one identification that is highly significant: the Melangeia of Pachymeres is the Akhisar of APZ, the well-known fortress overlooking the Sangarius. Even more remarkably, both sources mention the place in the same year, 1304, a rare confirmation of the seemingly arbitrary dates that APZ occasionally provides—and perhaps of the extent of Osman's conquests in these critical years.

Normally APZ narrates exploits of Osman that are unknown to the other sources, but there is one case where Osman seems to have made a spectacular move that does not appear in APZ. This is the raid that brought a Turkish force to Scutari, directly opposite Constantinople in December 1302.[9] As far as APZ was concerned, the first attack on the suburbs of Istanbul was

the work of Akça Koca who took Samandıra and Aydos around the time of the fall of Bursa.[10]

There is one very important event that appears in Pachymeres but not in the Turkish tradition: the defeat of Osman in 1307 by a massive Mongol force that drove him from the fortresses he had conquered from the Byzantines and pushed his forces back into the recesses of Mount Olympus, an event Pachymeres described as being more than one could hope for.[11] This seems to have been decisive, for nothing more is heard of Osman—in Greek or Turkish sources—for the next twenty years or so.

The battle of Bapheus in July 1302 has generally been treated as an event of great consequence, so important that it must occur, under whatever guise, in the Turkish narrative. Prof. Halil Inalcık made a brave attempt to identify Bapheus with a battle mentioned in the Turkish tradition.[12] He used a text of Neşri dealing with Osman's attack on Nicaea. According to this, the besieged Nicaeans got a message out to the emperor, who sent a force from Constantinople to relieve the city. They reached the promontory of Dil, at the narrowest point of the Gulf of Izmit. Some had already crossed the strait, about to follow the highway that led inland to Nicaea when they were ambushed at night by the Turks. Those who had crossed were either slaughtered or drowned; the rest retreated to the capital, leaving much loot for the ghazis.[13] The battle, such as it was, clearly took place in the vicinity of Dil (north shore of the gulf) and Hersek (south shore). This in no way suits the site of Bapheus, unambiguously described as near Nicomedia, some sixty kilometers to the east.

This battle does not appear in APZ who, in cap. 16, gives only cursory notice of the attack on Nicaea. On the other hand, the tradition represented by the Anonymous (not by APZ), reports a similar situation around the capture of Nicaea in 1331.[14] In this version, the besieged people of Nicaea managed to get a message to the "tekfur of Istanbul" who sent ships full of soldiers to relieve the city. When they were disembarking by night on the beach at Yalak Ovası, they were ambushed and slaughtered by the ghazis, warned by a spy. In this case, the battle took place at Yalova, at the head of a highway leading inland to Iznik or Bursa. As with everything to do with the capture of Iznik and Izmit, the tradition is hopelessly confused.[15]

The importance, too, of Bapheus has been exaggerated. Note, for example, the statement of Prof. Inalcık: "with the siege of Nicaea and his victory over the emperor's relief army, Osman won incomparable fame and charisma among the frontier Turcomans and leaders, securing for himself and his offspring an enduring legitimation for primacy and sovereignty."[16] In fact,

the battle of Bapheus, where a large Turkish force defeated a small Byzantine one, brought no great success for it was almost thirty years before Nicaea finally fell to the Ottomans, and then to Orhan not Osman. Meanwhile, in 1307, Osman himself had been badly beaten by the Mongols and forced to abandon most of his recent conquests and withdraw to the mountains. In terms of his reputation, Pachymeres was certainly aware of him as a leading enemy, but no more important than leaders of the other tribes or emirates. As for Osman's "fame and charisma," his exploits certainly attracted a following from as far away as Paphlagonia and the Maeander but sources are silent about his "enduring legitimation."

Other major battles appear in only one source. Dimboz, where Osman supposedly defeated a coalition of tekfurs in 1302, is absent from the Byzantine sources. Likewise, the indisputably important battle of Pelekanon, where a force led by the emperor himself withdrew in disarray, leaving the remaining Byzantine lands in Bithynia nearest the capital open to Orhan, finds no place in the Turkish sources, a most surprising omission.

Iznik and Izmit reveal a major problem with the tradition, for APZ reverses the order of the conquest of these two great cities which represented an important stage on the rise of the Ottomans. The contemporary Byzantine sources (with some support from the Arab traveler Ibn Battuta) unambiguously state that Nicaea was conquered in 1331 and Nicomedia in 1338, dates no one disputes. In any case, Izmit, which could be supplied by sea, would logically be the last holdout after Bursa, capable of being surrounded on land, and Iznik, which could only rely on its lake. Furthermore, the notion that Izmit was ruled by a woman related to the Byzantine emperor suits the situation in Nicaea in 1306, when the emperor's sister, installed in the city, successfully defied Osman.

One detail, however, is common to both APZ who exalts in it and Pachymeres who laments it: the conquest of the fort that was one of the main defenses of Nicaea, called Karadin by the Turks and Trikokkia by the Byzantines.[17]

All this suggests that APZ's account derives from the distortions of an oral tradition, which confused Iznik and Izmit, perhaps from similarity of their names (Izmit was known then as Iznikmid) and has incorporated memory of a situation that prevailed twenty years before the time of the present narrative.

The momentous conquest of the coast of Karesi, which made the crossing into Europe practicable, pose problems of a different kind, for it is impossible

to reconcile the Byzantine and Turkish accounts. The Byzantine sources, generally detailed for this period, mention the various rulers and divisions of the emirate, but have nothing whatsoever to say of its actual acquisition—whether by gift or conquest—by Orhan. APZ gives completely different names for the rulers and seems ignorant of the divisions. His date for the conquest—1335—is manifestly wrong, for texts and coins show that Karesi was still functioning ten years later. The only safe conclusion to be drawn seems to be that we know nothing of Orhan's takeover of Karesi beyond the fact that it happened. Once again, storytelling seems to have trumped history.

Comparing the Turkish and Byzantine sources produces very few examples of toponyms or events that can be seen from both points of view or where one can illuminate the other. Plainly, the Homeland was too remote from Constantinople to provide notice of a local chief who only attracted attention when he burst onto the Byzantine scene after establishing a power base in interior Bithynia. There is therefore no way to judge the accuracy or veracity of APZ's account of the rise of Osman before he appeared in the vicinity of major Byzantine cities, but when he did—and information is available in both sets of sources to invite comparison—the results are not encouraging. APZ has confused Iznik and Izmit, as he has confused the two Ottoman attacks on Nicaea: failed in 1307, successful in 1331. Here, as in the case of Karesi, an oral tradition seems to have woven stories around events a century and half before APZ's own time. Hope of understanding or even establishing the course of Osman's rise in the Homeland seems unlikely to be fulfilled.

Historians of the Seljuks of Rum, writing in the early fourteenth century and well acquainted with Asia Minor, might be hoped to provide information or perspective on Osman and his lands, but for them too he was too obscure or remote to attract notice. None of the three major sources—ibn Bibi, the Anonymous *History of the Seljuks of Asia Minor*, and Aksarayi—ever mentions Osman or, for that matter, Aydın, Saruhan, or Karesi, though Karaman and Eşref frequently appear along with the states based on Afyon Karahisar or Denizli, with Kastamonu, Menteşe, and Germiyan making occasional appearances.

In other words, the Byzantine and Turkish sources rarely present the same information, which could be validated by comparing the differing accounts, but they are rarely in direct contradiction. Ideally, they could be used to supplement each other, making allowance for the oral—and therefore potentially inaccurate—nature of the Turkish tradition.

Notes

1. Pachymeres XI.21 (4.453).
2. Beldiceanu 2003, 371.
3. Pachymeres XI.21 (4.455).
4. Already noted in passing and in a different context by Babinger 1922, 151. Angelokome appears only in Pachymeres XI.21 (4.453) the identification was made by Texier in the early nineteenth century and universally followed: a signpost on the road entering İnegöl proclaims the name Angelokome. See Ramsay 1890, 206f, who considers the problems the identification raises and offers a most implausible solution.
5. Schreiner 1969, 390 n. 1.
6. St. Gregory: Failler 1990, 21f.; St. George: Giros 2003, 215; for its approximate location, Lefort 2003, 465.
7. Pachymeres XIII.26 (4.683).
8. APZ cap.30, 35.
9. See above, p. 110.
10. APZ cap. 25–6.
11. Pachymeres XIII.38 (4.709).
12. Inalcık 1993 and, in more detail, 2003.
13. Translated by Inalcık 1993, 85f.
14. Ibid., 83f., a passage translated by Prof. Inalcık from a later source.
15. Prof. Inalcık does not help his case by treating the two attacks on Nicaea (1306–1307 and 1331) as if they were one, often rendering his arguments hard to follow.
16. Inalcık 1993, 97.
17. APZ cap. 22, Pachymeres XIII.35 (4.701f.).

4
Non-Narrative Sources

Coins

The written sources combine to populate the realistic landscape that Aşıkpaşazade (APZ) presents, but they are not the only material that might illuminate the still obscure rise of the Ottomans. Coins, which constitute contemporary hard evidence, could potentially give some insight into the wealth (or poverty) of the times as well as patterns of trade and relations to superior powers. In this case, their contribution is real but limited, for important aspects of the numismatic record are missing: hoards, which could illustrate patterns of trade and fluctuating degrees of prosperity; and excavated coins, which could illuminate local economic life. Nevertheless, coins can provide some insights when the Ottoman issues are seen in the context of those of the western emirates.[1]

For Islamic states, striking coins is a significant act, because coinage (*sikke*) along with mention of the sovereign's name in the sermon in the Friday mosque (*hutbe*) was a sign of independent sovereignty. According to APZ, Osman, after settling his new conquest, Karaca Hisar, was faced with a popular request for a Friday mosque and a religious judge (*kadi*). Their candidate, Dursun Fakih, however, pointed out that this required the permission of the Seljuk sultan. Osman replied that he had conquered the land by himself and had no need for any sultan. Dursun thereupon became *kadi* and led the Friday prayers in which the *hutbe* was read. This supposedly happened in 699/1299 and has been taken to mark the beginning of Ottoman history.

According to APZ (cap. 8), the sultan had already rewarded Osman for his capture of Karaca Hisar with a banner, tent, weapons, and animals in 687/1288–1289. Neşri combines the two events: although the sultan's gifts effectively recognized independence, Osman chose instead to recite the *hutbe* and strike coins in the name of the sultan.[2] These coins, if they ever existed, have not survived. Later, when the sultan died, Osman named Dursun Fakih as *kadi* and prayer leader.

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These narratives may have a kernel of truth, for Osman had the *laqab* or honorary name Fakhr al-din, attested in a document of 1324.[3] Since these titles were normally conferred by a higher authority, such as the Seljuk sultan, its existence may indicate Osman's receiving some reward or recognition from the sultan. In any case, the sultan was not the famous Ala ad-din Kayqubad I, who died before Osman was born, but if any of that name were involved, it would necessarily be Ala ed-Din III, who reigned intermittently (1284, 1293–1294, 1301–1303). He was an insignificant puppet of the Mongols, part of a facade that involved coins being struck in his name. In a comparable case, the equally powerless Giyath ed-Din Kaikhosraw III (1265–1282) figures in the will of ibn Jaja with a multitude of extravagant titles.

The sources imply, but do not state, that Osman stuck coins in his own name. In fact, no coins that were certainly issued by Osman have been discovered. There are, however, two pieces that ostensibly were products of Osman's rule. The first, known since the 1970s, weighs far too little for a normal *akçe* (the small silver coin of 1.15g of 900 silver that was the standard Ottoman issue); the second, only recently published, has been identified as a half-*akçe*, though it seems heavy for such a denomination (which was hardly ever produced in this period).[4] The first coin, which bears the name "Osman ibn Ertughrul" on both sides but no place of mintage (parts of the inscription cannot be read), is controversial. Of the second, struck from the same or similar obverse die, the reverse inscription cannot be read at all. The three experts of this coinage have divergent opinions: Atom Damali considers the first genuine, but according to Slobodan Srećković it differs in weight, design, calligraphy, and inscription from the standards of the period. Rolf Ehlert, on the other hand, assigns both coins to Germiyan on the basis of an ornament that appears on the first coin and on a recently discovered anonymous piece of that principality, noting that some *akçe*s of Germiyan are seriously underweight.[5] These anomalies suggest that these coins are not regular products of Osman, but neither their date nor the occasion nor reason for their production have been proposed or determined.

Another coin has been attributed to Osman by implication.[6] This is an *akçe* bearing the name of the Ilkhan Ghazan, the date 699, and a mint that has been read as "Söğüt"—i.e., ostensibly struck in the town where the Ottomans had their origin and at a time when they had moved their capital to Yenişehir near the Byzantine frontier. The obverse legend—the *kalima*, the Muslim profession of faith—is inscribed within a square, while obverse and reverse alike are limited by a beaded circle. It differs in design from the main empire-wide coinage of Ghazan but resembles some regional issues

struck in southern and southwestern Anatolia.[7] The mintmark consists of the letters sin-`ayn- dal: سعد which could be read as S.Gh.D, i.e., Söğüt. The problem here is that that is not at all the way Söğüt is spelled in Ottoman Turkish, where it appears as سكود SGUD, the spelling found in the manuscripts of APZ and in endowment documents going back to the fifteenth century.[8] There is no way of mistaking this word for the one that appears on the coin, which must therefore be regarded as an imitation with a garbled inscription, rather than any evidence for Osman.

In other words, Osman, unlike some of his neighbors, did not strike coins in his own name or in the name of a Seljuk or Mongol sovereign, for no issue of theirs was apparently ever produced in lands under Osman's control. This has implications for the economy of the nascent Ottoman state and for its wealth—and perhaps for Osman's claims to independence. It suggests that the Ottoman enterprise was relatively poor or at least not very developed economically.

The reign of Orhan brings major change. He not only issued coins but in a variety of types and inscriptions not seen again until the reign of Mehmet Fatih a century later. There are eight (or eleven or six, depending on the catalog) main types of the *akçe* with several varieties.[9] The majority bear the mint name Bursa; no other mint appears. All agree that the first type is the *akçe* in an Ilkhanid style bearing the mintmark Bursa and the date 727 (1327)[10] (Fig. 4.1). It shows that Orhan was asserting his independence and

Fig. 4.1 Orhan's new coinage, struck in Bursa in 1327. © Classic Numismatic Group, LLC, http://www.cngcoins.com, reproduced with permission

producing a sophisticated well-designed coinage already only a year after capture of his first major city, Bursa, which became his capital.

One undated series gives Orhan the grandiose title *al-sultan al-a`zam* "the greatest sultan" while another calls him *al-sultan al-adil* (the just sultan), and a third gives both titles.[11] One variant of the *al-sultan al-a`zam* type is the most common of Orhan's issues; it has been dated to the 740s/750s.[12] These titles are in striking contrast with the coins of his two successors, who built a mighty empire half based in Europe, and were far more powerful than Orhan ever was. Both Murat I and Bayezid I modestly appear on their coins with name and patronymic alone.

Orhan's titles find parallels in the emirates: Yahşı Han of Karesi also called himself *al-sultan al-a`zam*; Yakub I of Germiyan appears to have used the same title. On one issue Yahşı appropriates *amir al-a`zam* while on another he calls himself merely *bey*. His brother Demirhan claims to be *malik*; Mehmet of Aydın is more grandly *al-sultan al-malik al-jalali*. Bayezid of the Candaroğulları is most often called *al-sultan al-a`dal*.[13] In other words, Orhan's claim to the title of sultan is not all unusual in this context.[14]

Ottoman coinage, which begins in 1327, is roughly contemporary with the coinages of the western emirates of Karesi, Aydın, Menteşe, and Germiyan where a date in the 1320s or 1330s seems normal for the beginning of independent coinage. This, of course, coincides with the weakening of the Ilkhanids, and their collapse after the death of Abu Sa`id in 1335. In most cases, there is a long gap of twenty years or more between the establishment of the emirate and the first independent coinage. To some extent, issues in the name of the Ilkhan ruler seem to fill the gap: Germiyan, Karesi, Sasa Bey, Aydın, and Candaroğlu struck such coins, to which Menteşe, issuing in the name of the Seljuk sultan, may be added.[15] These were mostly produced around 1300 and in small quantities, but they raise important questions which can be approached by considering the coinage of the ephemeral but well-attested Sasa Bey.[16]

Sasa, who is mentioned by two Byzantine historians as well as the Turkish epic, the *Destan* of Umur of Aydın, and the contemporary Catalan chronicle of Ramon Montaner, appears in history in the spring of 1304 when the Catalan army in mercenary service of Byzantium drove his forces and those of Aydın away from attacking Philadelphia. By the end of the year, however, the Catalans were recalled to Europe and the Turks returned. On October 24, 1305, Sasa took Ephesus.[17] Pachymeres identifies him as the son-in-law and *therapon* (attendant) of Karmanou Mantakhiou, i.e., Menteşe of Germiyan. According to the *Destan*, Sasa took the mountain fortress of

Birgi, then called in the sons of Aydın, an action described as opening the gates of conquest for Germiyan, whose stirrup they held. Then, together, Sasa and Aydın captured Ayasuluk/Ephesus, where they converted churches into mosques, then conquered Keles/Kaloe. After the sons of Aydın defeated a "Frank" counterattack, Sasa defected, joined the Christians, and was killed in battle. For the *Destan*, the scene of action is entirely in Ephesus and its hinterland, the Cayster valley.

Gregoras mentions the "Persarchos" Sasan as ruling a coastal district commanding the mouths of the Maeander and Cayster rivers. In any case, the forces of Aydın soon took over, for its founder Mehmet, in the building inscription on his Friday mosque in Birgi, proclaims that he had conquered that city in 707 (1307/08), suggesting that the career of Sasan lasted five years at most.[18] He had been closely associated with Aydın and Menteşe and was responsible for the conquest of the fertile Cayster valley and the important commercial center, Ephesus.

Numismatics may cast further light on these events. Sasa issued no coins in his own name but the mint of Ayasuluk (Ephesus) struck in the name of the Ilkhan sultan Uljaytu in 706 (1306/1307).[19] Similar pieces were issued in these years in the lands that were to form the beylik of Aydın: Ayasuluk in 710; Sultanhisar 705 and 710; and Tire in 707.[20] None of these name the local emir, only the Mongol sovereign.

At first sight, a Mongol ruler seems completely out of place here, for although the Ilkhanids were in full control of the Anatolian plateau, there is no evidence that they ever set foot in this region: the sources make it very clear that its conquest was the work of Sasa and the sons of Aydın. The two contemporary authors, Muntaner and Pachymeres, could hardly have failed to mention anything so extraordinary as the appearance of a Mongol force on the Aegean coast. In fact, the Mongols very rarely intervened directly into their Wild West—the land of the Turcoman tribes—and then only to suppress revolts.[21]

In other words, there is no reason to take the Ayasuluk coin as representing a Mongol conquest or Mongol direct rule over this maritime district. It was produced within a year of Sasa's conquest of the city and no doubt under his authority. This raises questions about the nature of Sasa's power and that of the Ilkhanids. Normally, if a coin bore the name of the Ilkhan and were struck, say, in Tabriz or any of a range of mints in Iran or Anatolia, it would be taken to indicate direct rule, with the branch mints striking the same types, with the same metrology as the capital. Since that cannot be the case here, this coin must represent a different relation between the Mongols

and the local ruler, who is evidently recognizing the overlordship (in this case of Uljaytu) whether because he was acting directly in the Ilkhan's interest or proclaiming a nominal sovereignty or some other relationship.

The Egyptian statesman and historian Al-Umari, writing in the 1330s, provides a clue. He explained that when the Mongols took over, the Seljuk sultans were left with titles but no authority. Real power was in the hands of the Mongol governor; the Friday prayer was made in the name of the princes descended from Genghis Khan; gold and silver coins were struck in their name. Later, when the Seljuks had disappeared and the Turcoman states had established their independence, they didn't stop seeking the goodwill of the Mongols. They sent rich gifts, maintained agents at the Mongol court, said prayers in the name of the Mongol ruler of the house of Hulagu (i.e., the Ilkhans), and struck coins in his name.[22] All this in an effort to gain Mongol support (or at least acquiescence) for their independent existence and possibly advantages over rival emirs. In this context, it appears that Sasa was placing himself under Mongol protection or was actively seeking their goodwill. In any case, the Mongol name was making its appearance in a land far from the territories they ruled—and not only in Ionia, other emirates also name Mongol rulers on coins struck in their capitals:

Kutahya, capital of Germiyan, struck in the name of Ghazan in 698 and 700.[23]

Bergama, capital of Karesi, in the name of Uljaytu (703–16)[24]
Kastamonu, capital of the Candaroğlu, in the name of Ghazan (701), Uljaytu (716), and Abu Sa'id (723–8)

Note that three of these (Germiyan, Karesi, and Kastamonu) are Osman's neighbors and that the name of the Mongols, exerted influence if not direct power, close to the lands of Osman who differed from the others in not issuing coins at all.[25]

Inscriptions and buildings

Orhan's titles *sultan al-a`zam* and *sultan al-adil* may seem at first sight unexpected and extravagant, but as noted, they are part of the common language of sovereignty in the fourteenth-century beyliks. Actually, the small size of the coins allows for few honorifics; the titles on them are nothing compared with what appears in monumental building inscriptions of the

age. One of the grandest examples adorned a mosque in Bursa.[26] Dated 738 (1337), the titles it contains have given rise to much discussion:[27]

al-amir al-kabir al-m`uazzam al-mujahid fi sabil Allah sultan al-ghuzat ghazi ibn al-ghazi shuja` al-dawla wa'ldin wa-l afaq bahlavan al-zaman Urkhan bin`Uthman

"the Exalted Great Emir, Warrior on behalf of God, Sultan of the Ghazis, Champion of the State and the Religion and of the Horizons, Hero of the Age, Orhan son of Osman"

This is one of the only two inscriptions that name Orhan; the other, dated 740/1339, on his mosque in the bazaar of Bursa, is more restrained:[28]

sultan al-ghuzat wa'l-mujahidin Orhan beg bin Osman beg

"sultan of the ghazis and warriors for the faith, Orhan *bey*, son of Osman *bey*"

Contemporary examples from other beyliks will provide a context for Orhan's titles and show how bombast and restraint coexisted.[29]

Germiyan, the most powerful of the emirates, seems to show the greatest moderation:

al-amir al-ajall al-kabir Yakub ibn Alishir (Ankara 699/1300: RCEA 13.5080)
"the great, most exalted amir, Yaqub son of Alishir"

al-amir al-ajall al-kabir sultan al-Kermiyaniya (Sandikli 725/1325: RCEA 14, 5517)
"the great, most exalted emir, sultan of Germiyan"

though one of their chiefs makes a seemingly unusual claim:
malik al-umera wa'l-kubera mubariz al-din Umur b Savji.
"King of the emirs and the great, Fighter for the faith" (Kutahya 714/1314: RCEA 14, 5346)[30]

Urkhan of Menteşe stresses the jihad:

al-amir al-mu`azzam al-mufakkham al-mansur al-muzaffar sultan ghuzat al-atrakshuja al-dawla wa'l-din Urkhan ibn Masud.

"Exalted, honored, victorious, triumphant amir, sultan of the ghazis of the Turks,Hero of the State and the Religion, Orkhan son of Masud" (Peçin 732/1332: RCEA 15, 5622)

His son is more restrained:

al-amir al-kabir al-ajall Ibrahim beg ibn Urkhan (Muğla 1344: RCEA 15, 5983)
"the great, most exalted amir, Ibrahim bey son of Urkhan"

Mehmet Aydınoglu's building inscriptions are relatively moderate:
mawlana al-amir al-kabir al-ghazi fi-'l sabil Allah Muhammad ibn Aydın
"Our lord the great emir, ghazi on the path of God" (Birgi 712/1312: RCEA 5310)

al-jenab al-`ali al-amir al-kabir al-alim al-adil abu'l-khair mubariz al-dawla w'al-din Muhammad b Aydın.
"Exalted, honorable, the great, learned, just amir, founder of pious works, Fighter forthe nation and the religion" (Birgi 712/1312: RCEA 5311)

His epitaph is bombastic:

al-amir al-kabir al-alim al-mujahid al-murabit abu'l-khair sultan al-ghuzat mubarizal-dawla wa'l-din Muhammad b Aydın.
"The great, learned amir, fighter and defender (of the faith), founder of pious works,sultan of the ghazis, Fighter for the nation and the religion" (Birgi 734/1334: RCEA 5657)

Inscriptions such as these, which celebrate construction or repair of mosques (the great majority) or other works of public utility, can be combined with others from the region and the time to suggest a rough guide to the prosperity of the beyliks. Construction of a mosque was a primary need once a city had been conquered and settled. These were often small scale, to be replaced later by substantial Friday mosques, where the congregation gathered and the *hutbe* was proclaimed. They were built only in towns and cities and enjoyed a special status. They were often on a grand scale, advertising the glory of the religion and the wealth of the ruler.[31]

Known examples reflect a wealth that was increasing in the fourteenth century. The earliest was the Ulu Cami or great mosque of Birgi, built in 1312 soon after the conquest (Fig. 4.2). Others called Ulu Cami or Friday Mosque are known from inscriptions or mentioned by Ibn Battuta:

Kastamonu (Candaroğlu) before 1332
Balikesir (Karesi) completed after 1327
Peçin (Menteşe) 1332

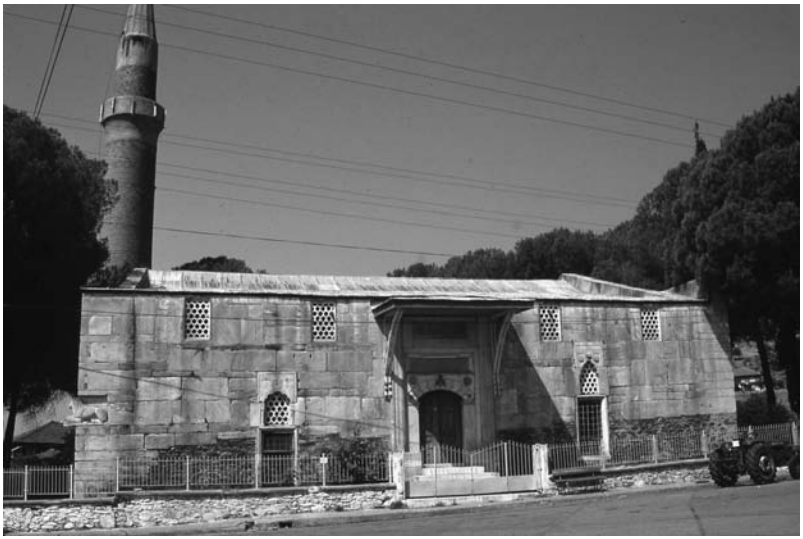

Fig. 4.2 Birgi's great mosque (1312)

Sinop (Candaroğlu) 1341
Muğla (Menteşe) 1344
Menemen[32] (Saruhan) 1358
Ayasuluk (Aydın) 1375
Manisa (Saruhan) 1376
Sandikli (Germiyan) 1378
Bursa (Ottoman) 1396
Bergama (Ottoman) 1398

In other words, substantial construction was underway throughout the fourteenth century, with ever-grander buildings. The most splendid in size, decoration, and innovative architecture were the Isa Bey Cami of Ayasuluk, the Ulu Cami of Ishak Bey of Saruhan, and especially the Ulu Cami of Bursa, built by Beyazit I long after the capital had moved to Europe.[33] Prosperity was evidently increasing during the first century of Turkish rule, and the Ottomans were participating, though perhaps at a slower pace.

A more impressive indicator of prosperity is the foundation of entirely new towns which functioned as capitals of emirates. Best known is Peçin in Menteşe, just five kilometers from the former capital, Milas. When Ibn Battuta visited in 1331, the city, together with its congregational mosque was under construction. It soon came to have a full complement of religious

and secular buildings.[34] A few years earlier Karesi bey, who died in 1327, had built his new capital, Balıkesir, described by Ibn Battuta as a "fine and prosperous city," but the new congregational mosque was still lacking a roof. Osman was also one of this company, for he founded his new capital, Yenişehir between 1299 and 1302 according to Aşıkpaşazade's dubious chronology. Proclaiming the wealth and success of ruler and religion may have been a prime motive of Menteşe and Karesi but the site of Osman's Yenişehir suggests an additional reason, for the city is over a range of high hills from Nicaea, some twenty kilometers away, and in easy striking distance of Bursa and the Sangarius valley, a good location for an emir poised to move against the declining empire of Byzantine Anatolia.

Yenişehir preserves the remains of a few buildings attributed to Orhan, among them a mosque, a medrese, a dervish lodge, and a hamam, but nothing that can certainly be attributed to Osman.[35] The picture is similar throughout the entire Homeland, where there are thirty-six mosques built by Orhan or attributed to him. Several are in small villages, most have been completely rebuilt.[36] The most substantial are in cities that figure in Aşıkpaşazade: Bilecik, Bursa, Izmit, Iznik, Söğüt, Yar Hisar, Yenişehir. Iznik contains several other buildings datable to Orhan's reign, while Bilecik has an *imaret* and a *turbe*. Bursa saw an outburst of construction: mosques, schools, dervish lodges, soup kitchens, caravansarays, tombs, baths, fortifications, palaces, bridges, and many others.[37] These completely transformed the city. Söğüt contains a tiny mescit supposedly built by Ertuğrul.[38] It has been extensively rebuilt, but the town has nothing of Osman who is conspicuous by his absence through the whole area. A bath in Yenişehir may date to his time, but the Osman Cami in Bilecik was built by Orhan in honor of his father, and the existence of his mosque in Karacaşehir, attested by an endowment document, seems dubious.[39] The buildings, like the coins, reflect the great difference between the realms of Osman and Orhan.

Documents

In a groundbreaking study of archival *vakf* (endowment) documents from the Homeland area Mme Beldiceanu was able to gain some important insight into the comparative resources of Osman and Orhan.[40] In the mid-fifteenth century register of the district of Sultanoyugu, Osman is mentioned only three times (Orhan appears twice as often). Where Osman appears, the endowments are of small farms, apparently granted in exchange

for military service. The registers of Hudavendigar, the province of Bursa (1456 and 1521) mention Osman only in Söğüt, Yar Hisar, and Ermeni Pazar; Orhan appears in every part of the province. Again, these are donations on a small scale, nothing capable of supporting a mosque or school or hospice. The situation changes drastically when the focus moves north to Bursa and Iznik, and the fertile plains and valleys of the Mediterranean climate area. Naturally, Osman does not appear at all, but there are numerous references to Orhan whose endowments are on a large scale capable of supporting public buildings.

Osman is named in endowments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that reveal activity on a smaller scale. They are usually of simple farms, that show him in possession of parts of the Homeland, with five from Söğüt, two from Yarhisar, and one from Ermeni Pazar. Most of the villages concerned cannot be identified, but one endowment of Osman was situated at Matlap (modern Muttalip) less than ten kilometers north of Eskişehir.[41] This is important information, being the first independent confirmation of Osman's presence in a specific part of the Homeland. This place has further significance and raises a central question, viz., Osman's relation to the Mongols, for Muttalip was on or adjacent to the land endowed by Jebrail ibn Jaja in 1272. At that time, only a decade or so before Osman supposedly appeared on the scene, Eskişehir and its surrounding villages were under Mongol control; now Osman appears to be established in the district. The implications of this will be considered in Chapter 6.

So far, the evidence suggests that the Homeland was relatively poor and that Osman (and even Orhan before the conquest of Bursa) could derive little profit from the lands he controlled and was in no position to support monumental building. However, a detailed endowment document issued by Orhan in March 1324—the oldest surviving complete and genuine Ottoman document of its kind—presents a rather different picture.[42] In it Orhan grants the entire district of Mekece for the foundation and maintenance of a lodge (*zaviye*) for dervishes, travelers, and the poor. This is evidently a substantial foundation that has major implications.

Mekece stands adjacent to the Sangarius at a point where two major roads meet: the west–east route from Iznik to Kastamonu and Sinope and the north–south route along the Sangarius. The former was followed in 1332 by Ibn Battuta, who spent the night in Mekece, but in the house of a legist.[43] This meant not only that Orhan in 1324 disposed of valuable property, but that the roads were secure enough that travelers of all kinds could pass. At this time, however, Iznik was still in Byzantine hands. This document

implies that Orhan controlled the route east from the city, presumably as part of the systematic blockade that Osman had attempted in 1304–1307.

As for the Sangarius route, its most important bastion for Byzantium had been the powerful fortress of Malagina. Here Pachymeres and APZ offer a rare confirmation of each other: the Byzantine reports that in 1304 "Melangeia" was emptied of its inhabitants, while the Ottoman recounts the capture of Akhisar in 704.[44] Osman probably held this conquest for a very short time, for the defeat the Mongols inflicted on him in 1307 forced him to abandon the forts he had conquered and to withdraw to Mt. Olympus above Bursa. Yet the Sangarius route was evidently in the hands of Orhan in 1324, as it presumably had been for some time, long enough for the region to be pacified, for traffic to resume and for resources to accumulate.

In other words, Osman had been responsible for these gains, for 1324 appears to mark the beginning of Orhan's reign, though strictly speaking the date of his accession and of the death or incapacitation of Osman is unknown.[45] This document, therefore, can be seen as reflecting conditions in Osman's time and suggesting that he was richer and more successful than other evidence would seem to indicate. The document is written in Persian, the language of the Seljuk chancery, and employs their elaborate script. This is evidence for an unexpected degree of sophistication and an organized state. Even more unexpected because it was issued before the conquest of Bursa and therefore in the obscure Yenişehir. The Ottomans were no longer simple nomads, but at least in this case, had formed something resembling a traditional Islamic state.[46]

The Mekece document also raises questions about the structure of Ottoman rule. That the names of four of Orhan's brothers appear as witnesses to the endowment has suggested that Orhan presided over a family enterprise where the chief was elected and conferred with members of the family for making important decisions.[47] Actually, Orhan, like Osman before him and his descendants and successors, ruled by himself with no power-sharing or challenge to his authority. APZ (cap. 29) relates that after Osman died, Orhan's brother Ala ed-Din and other leaders met to deal with Osman's modest possessions. On being asked his opinion, Ala ed-din stated that the flock only needed one shepherd and that should be Orhan. He requested only for himself a farm near Kite, which was granted. Although stories about him are largely mythical, Ala ed-din was a real and evidently important figure.[48] Orhan had at least four other brothers, but there is no evidence that Ala ed-din or any of the others played a significant role in running the state. The only occasion where one of them, Pazarlu, appears in history, at the battle of Pelekanon, it is in a subordinate role.[49]

Notes

1. These are discussed in more detail in Foss 2019.
2. Neşri I.108.
3. Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1967, 86 n. 8. See the article "lakab" by C. E. Bosworth.
4. First coin: Srećković 1999, 11–13; Damali 2010, 95, Ehlert 2014, 14f; second: Ehlert 2014, 13.
5. Srećković 1999, 11f; Damali 2010, 95; Ehlert 2014, 15 (see his entire discussion 5–18).
6. Lindner 2007, 97f., illustrated.
7. Standard types: Diler Ga281–Ga290; regional: Diler Ga291–Ga294.
8. See *Hudavendigar Livası Tahrir Defterleri* I. 267–92.
9. Remler 1980, 181–5; Damali 107–29; Srećković 15–28; Ehlert 5–50. It is extremely difficult to reconcile these types since each author seems to include coins missing from one of the others.
10. Damali G6a p. 117; Ehlert type 1a, p. 30f. The coin bears a general resemblance to the contemporary issues of Abu Sa'id (1316–1335) but differs in detail from all of them.
11. "Greatest sultan": Damali G7–G10 pp. 118–25; Ehlert types 3–5 pp. 36–8; "just sultan": Damali G12 p. 126; both titles: Damali G11 p. 125.
12. Ehlert type 7, p. 43f.
13. Many more examples could be found among the coinage of another set of Turcomans, the Artuqids, and Zengids of northern Syria and Iraq, who flourished in the previous century. See Elisseeff 1954.
14. Lowry 2003, 37, 43, evidently unaware of these coins, claims that Murat I in 1388 was the first to call himself "sultan." For the meaning of the term "the power that one exercises and by extension the chief who exercises it," see Beldiceanu 2002, 227f. with further references.
15. These issues will be discussed in the next chapter. Menteşe, Aydın, and Saruhan also produced western-style silver coins in the 1330s.
16. Note that the Byzantine sources call him "Sasan," while the Turkish use the form "Sasa."
17. Pachymeres XIII.13 (4.647f.); for the date, usually considered to be 1304, see Failler (1996).
18. RCEA 5310. The inscription raises chronological problems that resist solution: it has Mehmet conquering Birgi in 707 while the *Destan* attributes this to Sasa before the Aydınoğulları arrived and likewise (line 7) states that Mehmet only became emir in 717. See the discussion of Lemerle 1957, 19–25.
19. Izmirlier 2005, 107: it does not name the sultan, but only gives his titles in abbreviated form.
20. Ayasuluk: Izmirlier 2005, 108; Sultanhisar: ibid. 108–10; Tire: ibid 117–19. Yılmaz Izmirlier (2005, 45–51) identified this group of coins as associated with Sasa bey, noting that they share the same metrology and design: see his

catalogue ibid. 107–10, 117–19. The same author also presents coins supposedly from Arpaz and Karaağaç but these require confirmation, since those of "Arpaz" seem to name the Seljuk Alaeddin—the reading is uncertain—while Izmirlier reads the "Karaağaç" issues as "*Karağaç rekz*," which he interprets as "hoisted the flag." Equally questionable are the issues of Tire bearing the term transliterated as "*ghuzzad*": ibid., 119–21.

21. They intervened in the coasal regions in 1262, 1292, 1307, and 1327: Korobeinikov 2014, 223f., 23; Pachmeres XIII.37 (4.709); Beldiceanu 184, 22–9.
22. al-Umari 49–52/374–7.
23. 698: Kütahya (Diler 2006, 359);700: Kütahya (Ender 2005, 25).
24. Diler 2006, 410; the coin does not bear a date.
25. In the 1330s, three of the maritime emirates—Menteşe, Aydın, and Saruhan—issued western-style silver coins which will be discussed below, p. 195.
26. Mantran 1954, 89 no. 1. It is out of place on the Şehadet Cami where it now appears, for that was only built in 1389. It may have belonged on the destroyed mosque of Orhan in the citadel: Ayverdi 1966, 58f.
27. It forms the basis for the "ghazi thesis" advocated by Wittek 1936; see Lowry 2003, 33–44. The readings *wa-l afaq, al-zaman* are uncertain; see the text, transcription, and translation in Lowry 2003, 34–8. For the meaning of Orhan's titles, especially *sultan, ghazi*, and *mujahid*, see Beldiceanu 2002.
28. Mantran 1954, 90 no.2. These are not the earliest Ottoman inscriptions; the oldest is on the Haci Özbek mosque in Iznik, dated to 1333: Otto-Dorn 1941, 15–18.
29. Emecen 1995 pointed out the significance of the inscriptions of the beyliks.
30. Actually, *malik* had lost much of its original meaning and come to denote someone as "head of" or "subordinate ruler of": see the article "malik" by A. Ayalon in E!2 and Lewis 1988, 53–6.
31. See Necipoğlu 2005, 55–7.
32. Beldiceanu 2015, 283.
33. Note that this great conqueror merely calls himself *al-sultan al-mu`azzam Bayazid khan ibn Murad khan*, much as on his coins: Mantran 1954, 91 no.3 dated 802.
34. Description, plans, and illustrations in Arel 1968.
35. Ayverdi 1966, 206–16.
36. Listed in Ayverdi 1966, 8–20 and described in the following chapter.
37. Ayverdi 1966, 49–118.
38. Ayverdi 1966, 2f.
39. Ayverdi 1966, 15, 34f., 13. Karacaşehir poses special problems: see below, pp. 168–170.
40. Beldiceanu 2000b.
41. Ibid., 24. Other villages that can be identified (Günyarık, Aşağı Söğüt, Sevinç, Çukurhisar) are on the road from Söğüt to Eskişehir and virtually surround that city, but it is not clear whether they are sites of foundations of Osman or of one of his successors.

42. Beldiceanu 1967, 85–9; Lowry 2003, 72–9 with text, transcription, and translation.
43. Ibn Battuta 454.
44. Pachymeres XI.21 (4.455); APZ cap. 20.
45. Beldiceanu 2015, 235f. = Lowry 2003, 74. See the Appendix in Chapter 6.
46. This point is made by Lowry (above, n. 42).
47. Beldiceanu 1967, 87, 97f. The notion of a collective enterprise may reflect later nostalgia for a time when sultans didn't kill off their brothers: cf. ibid. 87 n. 16.
48. For Imber 1993, 68–71 he is entirely fictitious, but his 1333 endowment shows that not only did he exist but he possessed considerable property: Beldiceanu 1967, 94–9.
49. Cantacuzene I.349.

5
The Overlords

In the time of Osman, Asia Minor was at the center of a ring of contending powers: the Mongol Ilkhans of Iran in the east, the Mamlukes of Egypt in the south, the Mongol Golden Horde north of the Black Sea, and the ever-diminishing Byzantine state in Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, and western Anatolia.[1] The Ilkhans and Mamlukes were bitter enemies, as were the Ilkhans and the Golden Horde. Byzantium, which occupied a strategic location on the trade routes between eastern Europe, western Asia, and North Africa, maintained a delicate diplomatic balance amid the great power rivalries. By this time, the former Seljuk state of Rum had long since succumbed to the Mongols and functionally vanished from the scene.

In the reign of Ala ad-din Kayqubad I (1220–1237), the Seljuks of Anatolia were at their height. They had captured major port cities—Antalya and Alanya on the Mediterranean and Sinope on the Black Sea (which they surrounded with powerful fortifications), established a base in the Crimea, developed a network of roads and fortified caravanserais in Asia Minor, expanded their domain to Erzurum far in the east, advanced into upper Mesopotamia, and established cordial relations with the Byzantine empire of Nicaea. There were no major problems on the Byzantine eastern/Seljuk western frontier.

Meanwhile, beyond the eastern horizon, a far greater power than ever imagined was drawing closer to the Near East. By the time he died in 1227, Genghis Khan had gained control of a vast domain that stretched from the Volga to Korea and embraced all of central Asia and eastern Iran. Temporarily held back by succession disputes and the ephemeral Khwarezmian empire, a Mongol embassy only arrived at the Seljuk court in 1236, demanding submission and tribute. The death of Kaykubad in 1237 and Mongol preoccupation elsewhere postponed any serious action by either side until 1242 when massive Mongol armies moved on Mesopotamia and Anatolia. One battle decided the fate of Rum: at Köse Dağ in the region of Erzincan on June 26, 1243 the Seljuk army was annihilated, the sultan fled to Ankara, and the Mongols advanced as far as Kayseri before returning to the steppes of northern Iran. The world of Anatolia and its neighbors was changed

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forever, especially in the west where Mongol advances displaced Turcoman tribes, sending them fleeing toward the Byzantine frontiers.

The Seljuk vezir promptly headed for Mongol headquarters, where he negotiated a peace that involved paying a heavy tribute, confirmed by the appointment of the Sultan Ghiyath ad-Din Kaykhusraw II as the Mongols' representative in Rum. The Seljuk state seemed to have escaped disaster as it retained considerable autonomy. However, ominous troubles soon broke out with a widespread revolt of people who were destined to be the foes of settled government, the Turcoman tribes of the mountains of southern Anatolia. To make matters worse, Kaykhusraw died in 1246, leaving three sons: Izz ed-Din (age 11), Rukneddin (age 9), and Alaeddin (age 7). For the next decade the history of the Sultanate is dominated by the struggles of the factions behind these princes who never hesitated to call in the Mongols for support. Izz ed-Din came to head up the pro-Byzantine faction, Rukneddin the pro-Mongol. At the same time, high officials and aristocrats established their own power bases by taking over state lands to secure their own incomes.

The next crisis came in 1256 when the Great Khan sent his brother Hulagu to govern Iran, until then dependent on the Mongol horde of southern Russia. When he arrived with his flocks and herds, Hulagu displaced the Mongol forces based there, pushing them westward into Asia Minor. There, they came into conflict with Izz ed-Din, who at that moment was supreme. Despite Byzantine support, Izz ed-Din, defeated, fled into exile in Byzantium. He returned to Konya in 1257 when Hulagu divided Anatolia, the west (from Kayseri to Antalya) going to Izz ed-Din, the east to Rukneddin. Such an action confirmed the powerlessness of the Seljuk government, completely subordinate to the Mongol authorities. The following year, Hulagu sacked Baghdad, abolished the Abbasid caliphate, and established the Ilkhanate based in Iran. Anatolia had winter and summer headquarters for its vast encampments scattered throughout the central plateau; the westernmost winter pastures were around Akşehir and the plain of the Sangarius west of Ankara.[2] The previous occupants of these lands, including many Turcomans, were pushed out, with most of them going to the frontier regions.

In 1261, suspected of intriguing with Mamlukes and Turcomans, Izz ed-Din took refuge in Constantinople where he found a very changed situation. Michael Palaeologus, recognizing recent developments, abandoned the traditional alliance with the Seljuks in favor of the Mongols. He also formed alliances with the Mamlukes and the Golden Horde. By these means, Palaeologus protected his eastern frontier at a time when he faced major

threats from the west; he was safe from the Mongols, but not from the tribes. As for Izz ed-Din, after spending a slothful time in Constantinople, he wound up in prison from which he was rescued by Nogay who established him in the Crimea, where he died in 1280.

For the next fifteen years, Anatolia, administered by the *pervane* Mu`ineddin and the vezir Fakhreddin, enjoyed relative stability.[3] When Rukneddin tried to assert himself, he was killed, the nominal sovereignty passing to his small child Kaykhusraw III (1265–1282). The beginning of this period, though, brought a development that was to have drastic consequences: the establishment of autonomous Turcoman principalities. The first was in the mountains of southern Anatolia, where Karaman bey, head of a tribe long established in the area, gained control of the region of Larende and Ermenek around 1260 and used it as a base for launching an attack on Konya two years later. This was driven back by the *pervane* with Mongol support, but from then on, the Karamanids were to be one of the most intransigent and persistent enemies of the Ilkhans. The same years saw the rise of another Turcoman state based in Denizli, where a first attempt at independence was squelched by the Mongols who, however, allowed the local chief to maintain control of his region in 1262. The Mongols were keeping control of the Anatolian plateau, but allowing the Turcomans to establish themselves in the periphery.

In addition to providing pasture lands to the Mongols, the Sultanate had to pay a substantial tribute in cash, textiles, and animals, often resulting in large debts for which the Mongols appointed officials to secure payment. At the same time, high officials were carving out domains of their own: one of the most important was that of the sons of Fakhreddin around Kütahya and Karahisar in Phrygia. Such developments seriously weakened the Seljuk administration.

The events of 1277 brought Ilkhanid Asia Minor close to disaster. Early in the year, Baybars, Mamluke Sultan of Egypt, renowned for his victories over the Crusaders and for his participation in the battle of Ayn Jalut (1260), which stayed the Mongol advance into Syria, moved on to Asia Minor. After defeating the local Mongol and Seljuk forces at Elbistan in April, he occupied Kayseri, where he was enthroned and named in the *hutbe*. In the next month, however, he withdrew, fearing the approach of the main Mongol army. His death in June ended this danger but by then a major threat had arisen in the west. The Turcomans of the southwest, led by Karaman and reinforced by Eşref and Menteşe, taking advantage of Baybars' attack occupied Konya in May after defeating Germiyan and the sons of Fakhreddin,

who had remained loyal to the Sultanate. The rebels proclaimed a man, Jimri, who they claimed was Siyavush, son of the former Sultan Izz ed-Din. He assumed royal power, issued coins in his own name, and appointed as his vezir the Karamanid ruler Mehmet Bey, who ordered that the government decrees should be in Turkish rather than Persian. In October, the Ilkhan sent his brother with a large army that took Karaman, and defeated and killed Mehmet Bey. Jimri, however, escaped. The following spring, Fakhreddin and Germiyan took up the fight and managed to capture and execute Jimri, bringing the rebellion to an end, but it had consequences. Since the Turcomans of Burghulu and Denizli had not participated in crushing Jimri, the Mongol force moved on those centers as well as Sandıklı, Juhud, and Karahisar, where they installed the grandsons of Fakhreddin in what became a separate emirate. The emirs who submitted suffered no further punishment.

These events provoked a major change. So far, the Seljuk Sultanate was a tribute-paying dependency of the Mongols, retaining a considerable degree of autonomy. Now, the Ilkhanids stepped in and established direct rule. Mongol governors became supreme as the Seljuks were reduced to the role of puppets, while the finances were reorganized and centralized. In the new regime, the civil administration was subordinated to the military commander of Anatolia. But the coins still named only the Seljuk ruler; the Mongols did not issue coins in their own name in Anatolia until the reign of Ghazan, beginning in 1298.

In 1280, when the former Sultan Izz ed-Din died in the Crimea, his son Mesud embarked for Asia Minor in the hope of regaining his rightful throne. He came to terms with the ruler of Kastamonu and with the Ilkhan Abaqa, who did not restore him to the Sultanate but sent him against Karaman, where he made no move. Instead, his cousin Kaikhusraw III—with Mongol support—defeated the Karamanid threat in 1282, only to be executed two years later when a new Ilkhan had installed Mesud as Sultan. Then yet another change of Ilkhans divided the Sultanate, giving the east to Mesud and the west to the young sons of Kaikhusraw. Mesud, however, soon took Konya, killed the princes, and gained undivided authority by 1286. The following years were complicated by the ongoing struggle with Karaman and a new enmity with Germiyan, leading to an inconclusive peace in 1288. All this was accompanied by growing Mongol control and interference in the regular operation of government. The finances were especially disrupted as the Ilkhans turned them over to officials sent from Iran, imposed new taxes, and finally set up a system of tax farming, which led to corruption and widespread discontent.

Gaikhatu, who had been governor of Anatolia and was well aware of the perennial instability of the frontier region, became Ilkhan in 1291. Determined to restore order, he arrived in Kayseri with a huge army in October 1291. He devastated the lands of Karaman and Eshref, enslaving thousands, then moved on to Denizli, whose resistance only led to its population being massacred. From there, he ravaged the lands of Menteşe and inflicted further devastation on Karaman before returning to Iran in June 1292. At the same time, a major revolt had broken out in Paphlagonia which proved harder to control, being suppressed only in 1293. These years saw deteriorating conditions as Gaikhatu turned out to be an incompetent drunkard. Asia Minor only returned to some kind of order with the accession of Ghazan in 1295, who had to spend his first years suppressing revolts that devastated Anatolia until 1299.[4]

Notes

1. The present sketch makes no pretense of originality, but is intended simply to provide some background for what follows. It is based on Melville 2009, Sümer 1969, Cahen 1968, Togan 1970, Spuler 1955, and Kolbas 2011, 13–22.
2. See Smith 1999.
3. *Pervane*: a sort of right-hand man of the sultan: see Cahen 1968, 221f.
4. This narrative will be continued in the next chapter.

6
Osman and his Neighbors

Pachymeres, in his account of the devastation and loss of Byzantine Asia Minor, names the culprits, defining these Turcoman forces by their leaders.[1] Some were already well-established:

> Alisurai (Alishir of Germiyan); Mantakhiai (Menteşe); Atmanes (the followers of 'Atman' i.e., Osman);

some were new on the scene:

> Atinai (Aydın); Ameramanai (probably the Candaroğlu); Amourioi; Pagdinai (maybe Karesi)

others have not been identified, perhaps later absorbed into other groupings:

> Alaides, Lamises, Sfondylai.

To these can be added Sasan, who appears in 1304, and the unidentified Atares in 1305.

Note that the historian does not associate any of these groups with specific areas: evidently they were not yet settled in the regions they came to dominate or—in the case of those that already had a history—were emerging from areas that were beyond the current horizon of Byzantium. This would be the case of Germiyan in Phrygian Kütahya, Osman in interior Bithynia and Menteşe whose Carian lands had been lost by Byzantium a generation earlier.

Some were on the move to lands with which they would be identified. The Aydınoğulları first appeared in Ionia in 1305 from a homeland under the direct control or in proximity to Germiyan whose dependents they were when they reached the Aegean region. The Candaroğulları, installed by the Mongols in western Paphlagonia were, like Karesi, of obscure origins. The Amourioi moved around between the Sangarius and Paphlagonia but had no settled home, hence their request for Mesonesion.[2] The followers of

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Alais, of equally unknown origin were in a similar situation, for in 1303 they arranged to share the citadel of Sardis with its Byzantine defenders. Atares, who took Koubookleia in 1305, seems to have faced the same problem. Sasan had a base, but had not yet appeared on the scene as Pachymeres describes it.

In these years (1302–1305) several groups were operating far from what were or became their bases, as if the whole land were in turmoil: Osman came from inner Bithynia to Nicomedia and the Sangarius; Turks from the Maeander and Paphlagonia were with Osman at Bapheus; Sasa from Ephesus to Philadelphia; Menteşe from coastal Caria to Tralles. In all this, tribal loyalties were flexible and alliances frequent. This would have been especially true of Osman's allies who came from the two regions which had huge encampments of Turcoman nomads, ready to fight or loot, not yet organized into states.[3] As John Cantacuzene remarked: "it is the custom among these barbarians, when one of them goes on a campaign, that those of another satrapy who want to join it, are not pushed aside but received with pleasure as allies."[4]

These nomadic groups all needed a base to store food for the winter, as a shelter for women and children, and especially as a place to keep the loot they gained from one of their prime activities, predation. Alais and his followers were quite clear about that need, for which an easily defensible steep fortress would be ideal. Menteşe had solved this problem early on by using a fortified island in a lake for what was apparently a considerable treasure. It was hardly a coincidence that coins were struck there (in the mint called Bafa) as early as 1298.

The parallel example of the Ottomans is typically cloaked in an edifying folk tale about the lord of Bilecik agreeing to store their goods as they moved between summer and winter pastures. Viewed more simply, this could mean that Osman captured Bilecik, difficult of access and therefore well suited to this purpose.

The tribes soon settled in the lands they had overrun, a situation described by Nicephorus Gregoras (VII.214f), writing some forty years later about the events of 1302. He believed that the Turks had agreed to divide up the imperial lands in Asia Minor:

> "Karmanos Alisyrios got most of inner Phrygia as far as Philadelphia and the places closest to them up to Antioch on the Maeander from there to Smyrna and the coast of Ionia another, called Sarkhanes;

> another 'satrap' called Sasan had already taken the region around Magnesia, Priene and Ephesus one called Kalames and his son Karases: from Lydia and Aeolis as far as Mysia on the Hellespont the land around Olympus and all Bithynia next to it: another called Atman the land from the Sangarius to Paphlagonia the sons of Amourios divided among themselves."[5]

This, then, was the age of settlement when the tribes could conquer new and rich lands in the general collapse of imperial defenses. Settlement was facilitated by the occupation of important urban sites, where the Turks could find or install civil administrators and religious functionaries, secure behind massive ramparts. The coastal emirates also got ports, bases of trade for a new source of wealth. Menteşe acquired Milas and Palatia/Miletus; Aydın got Ayasuluk/Ephesus. Karesi and Saruhan took major commercial centers Pergamum and Magnesia; while the Ottomans had their eye (and siege techniques) on Nicaea and Bursa.

Once established, the emirates that controlled parts of the Aegean coast are striking for their power and prosperity. They rapidly became players on the international scene, along with the Byzantine empire, the rival Italian commercial states of Venice (represented by its governor in Crete) and Genoa, the Hospitaller Knights of Rhodes, and the Frankish principalities of Greece. These and the other emirates will provide a context for Osman and enable him to be evaluated in comparison with the rest. A survey of these states will also show the varying degrees of information available about them. Thanks to surviving documentation, Menteşe in Caria and Aydın in Ionia are the best known.[6] Osman rises in relative obscurity.

Osman

There is no doubt that Osman is a historical figure who laid the foundations for empire by conquering territory from Byzantium and expanding his small and remote domain to the thresholds of the three great cities of Bithynia. Yet his lands were still smaller and poorer than those of some of his neighbors.

Osman's immediate neighbors were Kastamonu in the east, Germiyan on the south, Karesi on the west and a few small and obscure emirates, also on

the east. Looming behind them was the power of the Mongols, the Ilkhanids who ruled Iran and Asia Minor. The maritime emirates of the Aegean—Saruhan, Aydın, and Menteşe—though not contiguous to Osman's lands, may be considered here to round out the image of western Anatolia. First, it would be desirable to define Osman's territory and to establish a chronology for its expansion.

Osman's career, as presented by the tradition, begins with mixed relations with his Christian neighbors.[7] The ruler of Inegöl, who harassed his annual movements, was his enemy, but the tekfur of Bilecik, who stored Osman's heavy goods while he was on the move, was friendly. His first victory, dated to 1285, was a raid that involved the capture and destruction of the small fort of Kulaca, only two kilometers from Inegöl.[8] The next year he defeated a coalition of tekfurs at the Domaniç pass, but now the tradition becomes problematic, having Osman directing his forces to the (Muslim) south, supposedly conquering Karacaşehir in 1288 and sending a raiding expedition into eastern Bithynia soon after.

Aşıkpaşazade (APZ) presents Osman's northern frontier as remaining surprisingly static until 1299 when, after avenging the treachery of the tekfur of Bilecik, he conquered Inegöl and Yarhisar. This brought him closer to the coastal plains and their heavily fortified cities. Not long after, he took Köprühisar and established Yenişehir which he made his capital and base for moving against Iznik. In 1302, he defeated the coalition of tekfurs at Dimboz and advanced as far as Ulubat, leaving Bursa increasingly isolated and vulnerable, subject now to blockade by Osman.

So far, the tradition, portraying Osman as moving inevitably northward, though at a very slow pace, interrupted by dealings with Karacahisar. But now other sources help to illuminate the scene, as Pachymeres describes Osman's first victory over Byzantium at Bapheus in 1302. In a remarkable coincidence Pachymeres and APZ both show Osman advancing up the Sangarius where he took the strategic fortress of Malagina/Akhisar in 1304. Likewise, Greek and Turk alike show him blockading and attacking Nicaea/Iznik with increasing violence. Pachymeres alone explains what happened next: the massive Mongol attack that defeated Osman and drove him from all his recent conquests. The tradition is (not surprisingly) silent on this momentous event, but like the Byzantine, has a hiatus of almost twenty years. When the Ottoman advance resumes with the conquest of Bursa, Osman is no longer the leader.

The tradition seems plausible enough in outline, however confused or obscure the details may be: Osman's attentions were directed to the north, to

the lands in the increasingly feeble hands of Byzantium, not only against its three great cities—Nicaea, Nicomedia, and Prousa—but along the Sangarius.

The emirate of Osman saw the greatest changes of any of these states, from an obscure hill country to the threshold of the great cities of maritime Bithynia. Osman, according to the tradition, began with the territory inherited from his father. This is worth considering to illustrate the beginning of his career as well as some of the manifold problems of the sources. The discussion will touch on the most famous and problematic of Osman's conquests, Karacahisar, and consider the status of Eskişehir/Sultanönü, Inönü and the cities and emirates of eastern Bithynia, under attack by Osman.

According to the tradition (APZ cap. 2), the Seljuk sultan Ala ed-Din settled Ertuğrul on the frontier between Bilecik and Karacahisar whose tekfur paid tribute to the sultan. Neşri, though, mentions the beys of Sultanönü, Eskişehir, and Inönü and states that when Osman came to power, deputies of the Seljuk Ala ed-din II were ruling in Sultanöyüğü, Eskişehir, and Inönü, while the contemporary Haci Bektaş mentions Ermeni Beli as marking the frontier between the Byzantine and Seljuk realms.[9] This, then, was a frontier area, with the main settlements in Seljuk hands. Ertuğrul seems to have been content with the pastures around Söğüt assigned to him and not to have embarked on any conquests.[10]

Ertuğrul faced an overwhelmingly powerful neighbor to the southeast where the major city of Sultanyuki/Eskişehir was under Mongol rule, as attested by the inscription (1266) and testament (1272) of Jibrail b. Jaja. The Mongol policy of maintaining the image but not the reality of Seljuk rule could account for Neşri's statement about the deputies of the sultan ruling the three cities. Sources reveal nothing of the relations between Ertuğrul and the Mongols, but they certainly would not have been on the basis of equality. It is quite likely that Ertuğrul's function was to defend this section of the Mongol/Byzantine frontier. In any case, Osman would have grown up under the shadow of the mighty Ilkhanids.

Osman inherited a district around Söğüt, bounded on the north and west by fortresses and villages ruled by Christians, evidently subject to Byzantium whose historians make no mention of this remote and obscure district. The closest and most important Byzantine outpost would have been Bilecik, thirty kilometers northwest of Söğüt. Osman's limits to the south and southeast are more difficult to define because of ambiguities in the tradition. Here, the major settlements were İnönü some thirty kilometers south, Eskişehir about forty-five kilometers southeast and—most prominent in the sources—Karacahisar ten kilometers west of Eskişehir. The history of these

places may help to understand the size and nature of Osman's base and the expansion of his lands.

İnönü, as already noted, finds no place in the accounts of Osman. APZ only mentions the *sanjak* of İnönü being entrusted by Orhan to his son Murad after the conquest of Bursa and before that of Iznik, with no indication of when and how it came into his hands (APZ 30). İnönü only appears in history with the inscription of Hoca Yadigar of 1374 which indicates that the place was independent or perhaps subject to Germiyan, implying that neither Osman nor Orhan ruled it.

The case of Eskişehir is more complicated, partly because it had two names: Eskişehir for the settlement around the hot springs and Sultanönü or Sultanöyüğü for the fortress two kilometers away—but there was really only one town, to which either name could apply.[11] Neşri (I.73) treated the two as separate cities. The sources about the Mongol governor Jibrail ibn Jaja leave no doubt that the "Sultanyuki" and surrounding territory were under Mongol control in the 1260's. Half a century later, Timurtash's rapid conquests included Sultanönü which possessed no fortified cities but vast plains—in other words it was independent in 1326, around the time of Osman's conquest of Bursa[12] According to Ahmedi, the earliest but very sketchy Ottoman source, Sultanönü was only taken by Murat I, together with Ankara, in 1361.[13] Its fate in Osman's time is not clear, nor is its absence from Balban's list of the Turcoman emirates. Did it slip from Mongol control at some point? Given the overwhelming power of the Ilkhanids, that seems unlikely, but perhaps it had revolted and therefore had to be reconquered by Timurtash. This entire region was necessarily affected by the settlement of Germiyan in 1277, which interposed a powerful emirate between Sultanyuki and the centers of Mongol power on the Anatolian plateau. But Germiyan, however powerful, was still subject to the Mongols who summoned its rulers and those of several other emirates to submit formally in 1316.

The appearance of Sultanyuki/Eskişehir in the tradition, which never claims that Osman actually ruled the place, does nothing to clarify the situation.[14] It seems most probable that the city was the center of a small emirate. On the other hand, the evidence of pious endowments offers a different point of view, for they include lands (admittedly on a small scale) near Eskişehir and on the route there from Söğüt.[15] If these really were endowments of Osman, his lands would have reached close to Eskişehir.

Karacahisar, which looms great in the tradition, poses the greatest problems.[16] Osman supposedly captured it in 687 (1288/9) when, according to Neşri (I.87), he was thirty-five years old. The previous year the tekfur of

Karacahisar had come to the aid of the ruler of Inegöl against Osman who defeated their coalition and, with the help of the sultan Ala ed-Din (who was called away by a Mongol attack before the siege was completed), conquered Karacahisar. He captured the tekfur, plundered the city and collected rich booty. He distributed houses to his followers and others and thus made the place an Islamic city (APZ caps. 5–6). Subsequently, it was his base for an expedition to Yenice and Mudurnu (APZ cap. 10).

Delighted by the news of the capture of Karacahisar, the sultan is supposed to have sent Osman important symbols of authority including a banner, a tent, horses, and weapons (APZ cap.8). Another source gives a hint that these honors were not altogether apocryphal, for the Mekece endowment mentions Osman with the *laqab* or honorary name Fakhr al-Din.[17] Since these titles were normally conferred by a higher authority, such as the Seljuk sultan, its existence may provide some confirmation for the sultan's award of honors, though without revealing the circumstances.

The most momentous event in the history of Karacahisar supposedly happened in 1299 (APZ cap. 14): when Osman first occupied the place, it was deserted. People from Germiyan and others asked for houses, which Osman granted them. He held a market, converted churches into mosques and named a *kadi*, thus proclaiming his independence from the sultan. This date has been taken to mark the beginning of the Ottoman Empire. Settled in his new conquest, Osman received a man from Germiyan who wanted to buy the taxes of the market (APZ cap. 15). The tradition portrays the simple, noble Osman as being totally ignorant of such matters.

At this time, Anatolia was in turmoil from the revolt of the Mongol governor Sulemis whose forces occupied most of the country from November 1298 to April 1299. He found a following among the Turcomans of the frontier and it is possible that Osman took his side. It has even been suggested that whatever rewards and honors Osman is supposed to have had from the sultan, he actually had from Sulemis.[18]

By this time, Osman had made substantial conquests to the north including Yenişehir, which he made his capital. He assigned the conquests to his various relatives and captains (APZ cap. 16): his eldest son Orhan received the sanjak (province) of Karacahisar, evidently considered a place of prime importance. In 1304, when his ally Köse Mihal converted to Islam, Osman made him Orhan's partner in ruling Karacahisar (APZ cap. 20). Soon after, while Osman was attacking Lefke, a body of Çavdar Tatars attacked the market of Karacahisar. Defeated and captured by Orhan, they were pardoned by Osman who wanted to live in peace with his neighbors. Finally

(APZ cap. 34), after the conquest of Iznik in 1331, Orhan granted Karacahisar to his (otherwise unknown) cousin Gündüz; not surprisingly, the place had fallen in importance after the greater conquests in the north.

Geography poses the greatest obstacle to understanding these accounts, for Karacahisar is only ten kilometers west of Eskişehir, on one of the main routes between that place and Kütahya, the capital of the powerful Germiyanids. From whom, then, did Osman, who was still (in 1288) not much more than a tribal leader, conquer it, and why was it so important in 1299 when his realm stretched as far as Yenişehir? Its proximity to a state far more powerful than his own and the presence or influence of the Mongols in Eskişehir make this a most unlikely place to have fallen to the insignificant Osman. The tradition associates Germiyan with this place in suspicious narratives—that they requested houses in the newly conquered city and that they knew about and wanted to collect market taxes—all suggesting an important Germiyanid presence here or in the neighborhood. It seems safest to conclude that the accounts of Karacahisar are all apocryphal, created to make Osman the equal or superior to Germiyan and even the Mongols who only appear here in the attenuated form of the Çavdar Tatars.

The evidence for these three cities helps to establish the limits of Osman's power. He had inherited the grazing lands of Ertuğrul, which stretched twenty kilometers or less from Söğüt. Christian tekfurs ruled the lands to his north and west, while Muslim states formed a barrier to the south and southwest. İnönü was never his, nor apparently was Eskişehir/Sultanönü. He may have acquired Karacahisar and maintained it as a fortified outpost on his rear as he moved north, but even that seems unlikely. North was the only direction available to him—and the only one where he could expand at the expense of infidels rather than fellow Muslims. At this stage, he had no possibility of moving against Germiyan or the far more powerful Mongols. He had no major cities and had no special natural resources, but his lands did lay astride a major trade route. It was from this unpromising beginning that Osman embarked on conquests that were to produce a mighty empire.

Like other goals of Osman, the fate of eastern Bithynia poses problems. APZ (10) reports that soon after the conquest of Karacahisar, Osman proposed an expedition against Tarakçı Yenicesi. Mihal advised him of the route and told him that the rich land of Mudurnu would be easy to attack because Samsa Çavuş and his followers were settled near there (as they had been since the days of Ertuğrul). Samsa joined them after they crossed the Sangarius and together they raided Göynük and Tarakçı Yenicesi and reached Gölkalanoz (Gölpazar), whence they returned to Karacaşehir. They took much loot but

no captives because Osman wanted to make the population his subjects. Subsequently, after the successful Sangarius campaign of 1304, Konur Alp took Düzpazar (Düzce) and Akyazi, defeated the enemy at Uzunca Bel, and advanced as far as Bolu (APZ 22). This was apparently a raid.

After the conquest of Bursa, APZ (25) reports that Konur Alp took Akyazı, Mudurnu, and Bolu as well as the land of Konurapa. The Anonymous (p. 5), though, attributes the conquest of Tarakçı Yenicesi, Göynük and Mudurnu to Orhan's son Suleyman, as does APZ (34) who, however, places this after the conquest of Iznik (or Izmit).[19] He adds that these places had surrendered willingly. Meanwhile, on the death of Konur Alp, Orhan had assigned his lands to Suleyman (APZ 30)

Al-Uryan writing around 733, however, reports the existence of an emirate called Koynuk Hisar.[20] When Ibn Battuta passed through, the city, inhabited only by Greeks, was Ottoman.[21] It seems probable, then, that the three towns named together by APZ were all part of an independent state adjacent to Ottoman territory and only taken by Orhan. Osman's lands did not include them, though they were suitable for raiding.

It would be desirable to follow the chronology of these conquests.[22] APZ gives several dates (ed. Öztürk 337–9), which are generally dismissed as inaccurate or fanciful:

684 (1285/6): Conquest of Kulaca: APZ 5

685 (1286/7): campaign of Ikizce: APZ 5

687 (1288/9): Conquest of Karacahisar: APZ 6.

699 (1299/1300): Conquest of Bilecik Yarhisar Inegöl: APZ 12–13; Osman named in Friday prayers at Karacahisar: APZ 14

702 (1302): Victory of Dimboz: APZ 17

704 (1304): Conquests along the Sangarius including Akhisar: APZ 20

705 (1305); Further conquests along the Sangarius; beginning of blockade of Iznik: APZ 22

726 (1326): Conquest of Bursa: APZ 23

731 (1331): Conquest of Iznik: APZ 32

735 (1335): Conquest of Karesi: APZ 35

Of these ten, the first five cannot be checked with another source, but the date of the conquest of Akhisar finds confirmation in Pachymeres who mentions the fall of Malagina in 1304, while Osman's approach toward Iznik

of the following year corresponds with Pachymeres' chronology. Dates for the conquests of Bursa and Iznik are correct, only the acquisition of Karesi is far off the mark. Considering that all these dates are not fanciful and that several are accurate, it might be prudent to accept the earlier as giving at least a possible chronological structure to Osman's progress to the north.[23] Karacahisar, as usual, poses insoluble problems.

The epic narrative of APZ presents Osman rising from the obscurity of Söğüt to the conquest of inner Bithynia. Supplemented by Pachymeres, who shows him defeating a Byzantine force at Bapheus, counts him as one of the leaders who overwhelmed western Asia Minor, and leaves him in defeat after a determined siege of Nicaea, the story keeps Osman in the backwoods. When the Ottoman forces reappear after a long (and unexplained) hiatus, Orhan is in charge, still relatively poor, operating on a small scale and trying to capture a major city. There are no coins that can be attributed to Osman with any degree of certainty, nor any buildings. In addition to the sources already presented, though, surviving documents offer a more nuanced picture.

The foundation document of Mekece issued by Orhan in March 1324 implies that Osman (who presumably died not long before) had brought security to the Sangarius region and had it firmly under control. Osman had conquered the crucial fortress of Malagina in 1304.[24] He most probably lost it to the Mongols in 1307, but evidently regained the region before 1324. The style and language of the document indicate that the Ottomans by then had developed a sophisticated political structure. Since it was issued before the conquest of Bursa, it was probably drawn up at Yenişehir.

The evidence of this document may be supplemented by the grant by Osman of a property in Muttalip north of Eskişehir in a region under Mongol control as late as 1272. This raises a central question: what were the relations between Osman and the Mongols?—a delicate subject skirted by APZ but fundamental to understanding the rise of the Ottomans. In this case, did Osman acquire his property peacefully under the aegis of the Mongols, or did he conquer it from them? Given the disparity of forces at this time, the former seems far more likely.

Germiyan

The most powerful of the emirates, has the longest history. Germiyan, apparently the name of a tribe not an individual, first appears in 1239, based

around Malatya in southeastern Turkey and subject to the Seljuks; it is mentioned again in 1261 when Kerimuddin ibn Alishir-i Germiyani was at the Seljuk court.[25] By 1277 the Germiyan had settled at Kütahya, apparently awarded them as a land grant by the Seljuk regime for their help in suppressing the Jimri rebellion. In 1286, however, they broke into revolt, devastating neighboring regions until a massive Mongol army restored control in 1291. Their long conflict with the ever-weakening Seljuk regime, however, was evidently successful, for an inscription of 699/1300 commemorates repairs to a mosque in Ankara by the great emir Yakub ibn Alishir in the days of Keykubad.[26]

With their strategic location at the edge of the plateau and their powerfully fortified capital Kütahya, the Germiyan were in a position to dominate the western emirates like Menteşe and Aydın, recorded as subject or dependent to them. The *Destan* introduces Mehmet Aydınoğlu and his sons as opening the gate of conquest for Germiyan, holding the stirrup for them.[27] Confirmation of Aydın's subordinate role comes from Eflaki (c.1290–1360) who wrote biographies of the leading dervishes. Early in the fourteenth century, Arif Chelebi, head of the order, met the son of Alishir who had camped with his army outside Ladik; among the entourage of the Germiyan ruler was the son-in-law of Mehmet Aydınoğlu, whom he described as a *subashi* (military commander) of the son of Alishir. When Arif visited Birgi, he met Mehmet, also described as a *subashi* of Germiyan, who had not yet conquered the region.[28]

When Chelebi visited the camp, the son of Alishir made a very bad impression by paying no attention to the religious devotions of Chelebi and his disciples, for "he was a Turk and without ceremony and uninformed about the world of the Friends of God" whereupon Chelebi rushed off, hurling insults at the Germiyan chief. An earthquake followed immediately. Alishir's son promptly sent apologies and gifts, and was forgiven. Later, when Chelebi visited Kütahya, Yaqub Beg became his disciple.[29]

In 1304 when the Germiyan make their appearance in western Anatolia. Pachymeres calls them "the Karmanoi around Alisyras, the most powerful of the Persians" and consistently distinguishes the Karmanoi from their leader Alisyras: Alisyras with the Karmanoi attack Philadelphia; Alisyras takes Tripolis which he uses as a base, makes attacks together with the Karmanoi.[30] In each case, Pachymeres is actually referring to Yakub, son of Alişir, who ruled from before 1300 to about 1340. Gregoras, on the other hand, simply calls the leader Karmanos Alisyrios.[31] Yet the consistent distinction between Alishir and Germiyan suggests a family enterprise, with

several (autonomous?) tribal units serving under one chief—or one ruling family.[32] The appellation given to Menteşe, "Karmanos Mantakhia" suggests that he, too, was a relative or dependent of Germiyan.[33] In any case, his son-in-law Sasa was fighting in alliance with Germiyan against the Catalans at Philadelphia before breaking away to become independent and then to call in the Aydınoğullari.

Under Yakub, Germiyan rose rapidly; by 1304, they had captured fortresses near Philadelphia as well as the important stronghold of Tripolis on the Maeander. By 1314, Philadelphia was paying tribute to them. Yet within two years, the sons of Alişir had to face a powerful Mongol army, led by the governor Choban who received the submission of Germiyan along with Hamid, Eshref, Sahib Ata, and Kastamonu in his winter quarters.[34] Germiyan is here described as "the beys of Germiyan from Kütahya with the sons of Alişir from the castles of the region," maintaining the distinction between Germiyan and Alişir found in Pachymeres. In the following decade, an endowment provided for a *zaviye* in Uşak (1321) and in 1325 the *sultan al-Kermiyaniya* built the castle of Sandıklı in Phrygia.[35] They seem not to have aimed at conquest in the west, but Yakub's reign is poorly attested. In any case, his capital *Kütahya* was the mint for a coin type of the Ilkhan sovereign Ghazan (1295–1304) struck in 698/1298 and 700/1300. Coins in Yakub's own name appear to belong to the later years of his reign or to Yaqub II (1387–1399).

Osman and Germiyan

The tradition is consistently hostile to Germiyan whenever it appears in the story of Osman:

APZ 2: Germiyan and Çavdar Tatars constantly raid (Afyon) Karahisar and Bilecik; Ertuğrul resists them, gives security to the infidel population. When he takes over, Osman follows the same policy. His favor to the non-Muslims is matched by hostile relations with Germiyan that begin here.

APZ 6: Germiyan stirs up the infidels, allies with the tekfur of Karacahisar against Osman.

APZ 9: Osman maintains good relations with the tekfur of Bilecik and with Mihal, but is always hostile to Germiyan; the infidels are pleased by this enmity.

APZ 9: a man from Germiyan refuses to pay an infidel merchant for a drinking glass; is chastised by Osman who gains a favorable reputation among the infidel.

APZ 12: mention of the hostility between Osman and Germiyan.

APZ 14: people from Germiyan come to Karacahisar, ask Osman for empty houses

APZ 15: a man from Germiyan asks Osman for the right to collect taxes on the local market.

APZ 21: Çavdar Tatars from Germiyan attack the market of Karacahisar

In all this, Ertuğrul and Osman are defenders of the local non-Muslim population against the Germiyan, who appear to be city dwellers and taxpayers. When the deep-seated hostility turns to fighting, the Ottomans win. Nothing suggests that the Germiyan are more than unpleasant neighbors, in no way superior to the Ottomans.

The hostility at least is real enough, as in the account of Ibn Battuta who is warned that the Germiyan are dangerous bandits and in the detailed description of Balban who notes the hatred the other emirs felt toward Germiyan.[36] In their case, Germiyan's overweening superiority stirs enmity, but there is nothing in the tradition to reflect the real power of this neighbor. The tradition presents only a distorted view, far too limited to enable anything about Germiyan or their actual relation to the Ottomans to be perceived. It only provides vague hints of a very different reality.

Kastamonu

The vast mountainous region that stretches northeast from Osman's territory to Kastamonu and Sinope contained important trade routes but no large cities. Its history is obscure and often confused. For much of the thirteenth century, Kastamonu and its region were under the domination of the Çobanoğulları established by Husameddin Çoban bey, a successful Seljuk commander, around 1225. During the reign of his successor Alp Yürek, the region became subject to the Mongols.[37]

Marino Sanudo, describing the situation around 1275, blamed Michael Palaeologus for failing to defend one of his most valuable and powerful provinces, Paphlagonia. This large, well-watered and well cultivated

region was constantly infested by the Turks, especially by their leader, the "crudelissimo Canino Caraman." An Italian renegade, the grand duke Licario, won a major victory, but the gains were all lost when troops were recalled to the capital to fight the Latins, leaving the empire only with Pontic Heraclea on the sea.[38]

Alp Yürek's son Yavlak Arslan became involved in the competition for the Seljuk sultanate and wound up on the losing side, being defeated and killed by a joint Mongol-Seljuk force in 1292. The victors turned the district of Eflani (in western Paphlagonia) over to their supporter Yaman Candar, founder of a new dynasty, but he had hardly taken control when Yavlak Arslan's son Mahmud seized power and ruled until 1309, when he in turn succumbed to Yaman's son Suleyman whose dynasty, the Candaroğullari, remained in power until 1461. Suleyman captured Burghlu (Safranbolu) and Kastamonu from the Çobanoğulları and moved his capital to Kastamonu when he took over the region. In 1316, he was one of the emirs summoned to submit formally to the Mongol commander Ctoban, who had taken up winter quarters in Karanbük.[39] His principality became much richer, more important, and more strategic when he took Sinope in 1324, allowing him to participate in the rich trade across the Black Sea.

Sometime before 1313, a Turkish commander known only by his titles Gazi Çelebi, took Sinope from the Genoese. He built up a powerful fleet including eight galleys at a time when the beyliks had only light vessels, and used it to attack the Crimea where the Genoese had an important colony. His treacherous massacre of Genoese allies and his attack on a Venetian fleet made him notorious among the Christian powers. When he died in 1324, his emirate came to an end and the city was incorporated into the Candaroğlu realm.[40]

The figures of Amourios and his sons Ales Amourios and Nastratios, narrated by Pachymeres, find no certain parallel in Turkish sources. They were apparently chiefs who operated between the Sangarius and Kastamonu in the years around 1300 and at one time were allied with the Candaroğlu.[41]

The emirate remained closely associated with the Ilkhanids until the 1330s.[42] Coins struck in their capital Kastamonu were of Ilkhanid type, bearing the name of the Mongol ruler; they become more regular and abundant from 723/1323.[43]

The emirate of Kastamonu, then, was a neighbor of Osman influenced or dominated by the Mongols. It also had a large population of Turcoman tribes. The Arab geographer Ibn Sa`id (1213–1286), reported that there were 100,000 Turcoman tents in the neighborhood of Kastamonu and

another 30,000 at "Karabuli" west of Ankara, which may have been another place in Paphlagonia. They provided horses, mules, and slaves.[44] They were also a source of instability, revolting against the Ilkhanids, notably in 1301 in a massive operation that took the Mongols two years to subdue.[45] They probably formed the Turks from Paphlagonia who joined Osman at Bapheus.

Four Minor States

Strictly speaking, Kastamonu was not Osman's direct neighbor, for two small emirates lay between them, based in Göynük, adjacent to Osman's conquests along the Sangarius, and Gerede, about halfway between Osman's lands and Kastamonu. Since they are only known in Orhan's reign, they will be discussed in the next chapter.

Adjacent to Osman's southern frontier were the mini-states of Sultanönü (Eskişehir) and İnönü, discussed above. Virtually nothing is known about them.

An Anomalous City

Philadelphia first appears in this account in 1259, when the new emperor Michael Palaeologus brought his main army there in a show of force. He inspected and strengthened the frontier defenses, and made generous donatives to the defenders. The city was of special importance because it commanded the easy route to Laodicea and the upper Maeander, a major base of the Turcomans, and so was a frequent object of their attacks.[46] Thus in 1280, Michael's son Andronicus secured the region of Philadelphia, as did Philanthropenus in his successful campaign of 1293. But geography could not be defeated, and the city found itself under serious attack by Alişir of Germiyan and his subordinates Sasa and Aydın in 1304. When the Catalans arrived in the aftermath of the collapse of Byzantium's Asiatic frontiers they found the fortresses of the region, notable among them Tripolis on the Maeander, conquered by the Turks. The Catalans were victorious in a battle that rescued the city, and made it their base of operations. Late in 1304, however, the Catalans were recalled by the emperor; they never returned to Anatolia. As soon as they were gone, Germiyan resumed the attack (in 1305), reducing the Philadelphians to the misery of a siege.[47] In all this, its powerful fortifications enabled Philadelphia to survive.

In 1310, Philadelphia, already twice attacked by Germiyan, suffered the torment of another siege, which was lifted in exchange for a heavy tribute. The Turkish success was commemorated in the dedicatory inscription of a medrese in Kütahya dated 1314 which states that it was built with the tribute, *jizya*, of Alaşehir. This term was normally used to denote the tribute a Muslim state imposed on its non-Muslim subjects.[48]

By this time, a major change had occurred in the nature of Philadelphia's strategic location, for the establishment of the emirate of Saruhan with its capture of Magnesia in 1313 meant that Philadelphia was cut off from the Aegean and from any direct connection with the Constantinople. Its location gained a different significance for now it was at the crossroads of three often rival emirates—Germiyan to the north, Aydin to the east and south and Saruhan to the west. Rivalry between these states may have been a factor in the city's survival as a Christian enclave within an Islamic land.

Germiyan and Aydın returned to the attack in 1322, when they besieged the city and its outlying bulwark, Fort St. Nicholas. Although they employed catapults and made the inhabitants miserable for a year and seven months, they failed to conquer. The emperor got the news that Philadelphia, besieged by Turks of the immediate neighborhood (i.e., Germiyan), was on the point of surrendering, but he was in a hopeless position: he had no weapons or army capable of facing the enemy, nor could he help a city so far from the coast, surrounded by many enemies. He called on Philanthropenus, blinded and exiled for twenty-eight years, and sent him without troops, weapons, or gold, armed only with his experience and understanding. While he was still on way, the Turks abandoned their attack and came to meet Philanthropenus as friends, remembering their good relations in the past; some had even had military training by him. They promised to grant him every wish and as a result Philadelphia was saved and soon reached the height of prosperity.

It drew its wealth from its fertile territory and successful trade in high-quality textiles, especially silk, and leather.[49] Its merchants are attested as far away as Thessalonica and Selymbria.[50] Although Philadelphia was now cut off from imperial territory, the emperor was able to send Philanthropenos (though not an army) and to appoint the governor of the city.[51] In other words, Philadelphia was still part of the Constantinople, though the means by which this connection was maintained are unknown.

Soon after, in 1327, the ferocious Mongol governor of Anatolia, Timurtash, arrived in Philadelphia, not to attack the city but to bring Germiyan and Aydın to order and to support the independence of Philadelphia, subject to the emperor who was allied with the Mongols.[52] Mongol influence,

however, was nearing the end, for the Ilkhanid state fell apart after the death of its last effective ruler, Abu Sa'id, in 1335.

Karesi

Kalames and his son Karases possessed an exceptionally large territory stretching from Lydia to the Hellespont, that is the entire northwest of Anatolia, with coastlands on the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara.[53] The two leaders claimed descent of the Danishmendids who had ruled eastern Anatolia in the twelfth century.[54] They apparently subdued what was to be their homeland around the turn of the fourteenth century when Byzantine fortunes were rapidly declining and it was probably to them that the port of Assos and the inland fortress of Kenchreai fell in 1304.[55] At the time of the Catalan expedition, Achyraous and Chliara were still Byzantine, but "Turks" had taken Germe.[56] They were presumably the Turks who by that time had gained control of the whole (northwestern) coast, with the exception of Adramyttion and Phocaea, held by the Genoese.[57]

These vague references are all that can be taken to reflect the establishment of Karesi in northwestern Turkey. There are no inscriptions or monumental buildings, and but one coin type. This was struck in Bergama in the name of Uljaytu (1304–1316).[58] It would thus have been issued during the reign of the founder of the dynasty, Karesi Beg (1297?–1327), in his capital.

Saruhan

Surprisingly, in view of the extensive rich lands of the Hermus valley that they controlled, there seems to be no information available about Saruhan at this time beyond the mention by Gregoras of their settlement in Lydia.

No coins, whether struck in the name of the local ruler or Seljuk or Mongol overlords, are known from Saruhan in this period.[59]

Aydın

Aydın first appears in history in 1304, when its forces, together with Sasa, were attacking Philadelphia, only to be driven off by the Catalans. They were probably subordinate to Germiyan as they certainly were in the

following year when Sasa called Mehmet of Aydın and his sons into the region of Ephesus. By 1307, Mehmet had dispossessed Sasa, and taken control of the Cayster and Maeander valleys that were to be the core of his family's territories. He made his capital at Birgi on the mountain slopes overlooking the central Cayster valley.[60] It was there that he built the first monumental mosque of any of these emirates. The inscription that announced his conquest of Birgi in 1307 and the construction of the mosque in 1312 reflects his independence.[61]

Aydın returned to the attack on Philadelphia in 1322, again in the company of Germiyan, though whether as an ally or subordinate is unclear. They were still operating together in 1327 when the two powers, again threatening Philadelphia, were called to order by the Mongol governor Timurtash.[62]

Mehmet struck coins of which one type is known, bearing neither date nor mint mark. Others were struck in the name of overlords: the Seljuk sultan Mesud II, who reigned intermittently between 1282 and 1307, his issue dated 1306 was struck in Ayasuluk (Ephesus); and the Ilkhan Khudabende Uljaytu whose issues of 1310 were minted at Ayasuluk and sultan Hisar.[63]

There is less information about the naval exploits of Aydın in this period, when it pursued the same activities as Menteşe, often carrying out joint raids with its neighbor against the lands held by the Christians. In 1317, Mehmet of Aydın took the city and castle of Smyrna from the Byzantines but still faced an obstacle in the form of the castle that commanded the port, held by the Genoese.[64] That was only to fall to Mehmet's more famous son Umur a decade later. Meanwhile, Aydın controlled the important port of Ephesus from which their fleet, with 2600 men aboard, attacked Chios, only to be defeated by the knights and Genoese in 1319.[65]

Menteşe

This emirate is one of the first to enter history—in 1277, when its forces joined those of Karaman and Eshref in the revolt that led to putting the pretender Cimri on the Seljuk throne in Konya. The revolt was forcefully suppressed by the Mongol army two years later. These disturbances apparently caused the Menteşe to move from their original home, Makri (Fethiye), toward the Byzantine frontier.[66]

They first appear in a western source in the reign of Michael Palaeologus (d.1282), when the "Turquenodomar Mandachia" invaded the lower

Maeander valley and in 1284 when "Salpakis Mantakhias," evidently the founder of the dynasty, conquered Tralles after its abortive restoration by Andronicus III.[67] In 1291, after another widespread Turcoman revolt, the Ilkhan ruler Gayhatu led a devastating campaign which ravaged the lands of Menteşe (their location not specified).[68] Two years later, it was the turn of Byzantium as the imperial general Philanthropenus captured the fort of Dyo Bounoi and its treasure from Menteşe's widow.[69] This stronghold was on a virtually impregnable island in the Milesian lake near the mouth of the river, a safe place for Menteşe to store the great wealth he had accumulated. So far, the Menteşe clan (the founder seems to have died around 1290) has been associated with the Maeander and Cayster valleys and with the region of Miletus, but their original base was apparently on the Carian coast, lost by the Byzantines before 1269 and the natural home of piratical fleets.[70] Menteşe took to the sea, its fleet perhaps augmented by sailors from the Byzantine fleet disbanded in 1285 who are recorded to have become pirates.[71] It was probably discharged Greek sailors who came to form the backbone of the fleets of the maritime emirates, for the Turks themselves had no experience of the sea.[72] Attacks on Rhodes in 1300 and Chios in 1306 by Turkish fleets may have been the work of Menteşe.[73]

On land, in 1304, the "gabella de Mondexia" attacked the Catalans at Thyraia/Tire in the Cayster valley and the next year, after the Catalans had left, the "Persarkhos" Sasan, son-in-law and follower of "Karmanos Mantakhias" took Ephesus, Pyrgion, and Thyraia.[74] He had already, in company with Aydın and Germiyan, been attacking Philadelphia until driven away by the Catalans. Sasa soon parted company with Menteşe, established his own realm comprising Ephesus and the Cayster valley, and called in Mehmet son of Aydın and his four sons, all clients or dependents of Germiyan. Soon after, Sasa broke with them, joined the Christians, who had mounted a naval expedition, and was killed in the fighting. The subsequent history of his lands belongs to Aydın.

The name "Karmanos Mantakhias" raises a surprising possibility. Pachymeres, as noted, is careful to distinguish the Germiyanid commander Alishir from his followers, the Karmanoi. Gregoras, describing the same events, refers to Alishir simply as "Karmanos Alisyrios."[75] "Karmanos Mantakhias" seems to fit the same pattern, perhaps identifying Menteşe as a follower or relative of Germiyan. This would suit the context, with Sasa as the key figure—relative of Menteşe and ally of Aydın.[76]

When more information is available, Menteşe appears indulging its two main activities: raiding and trading. In 1311, 250 merchants from Rhodes

visited Menteşe to buy provisions and animals; the next year 23 "Turkish" ships, evidently of Menteşe, attacked Rhodes, only to be crushed by the Knights of Rhodes.[77] In 1320, Orkhan, Menteşe's emir, sent out a much larger fleet—over eighty ships—in a major attempt to subjugate Rhodes, once again was defeated by the knights, this time supported by the Genoese.[78] Despite these attacks, trade continued, and Menteşe started to grow rich with the proceeds primarily from agricultural products and animals.

No monumental buildings nor inscriptions have survived from this period—the reign of Mesud son of Menteşe, c.1300–1320)—but coins were struck in Menteşe lands between 1298 and 1303 in the name of the Seljuk sultans Kaykubad III (three mints) and Mesud II (four mints).[79]

The mountains of Caria and Lycia—the interior regions of Menteşe—presented a very different situation. According to the Arab geographer Ibn Sa`id (1213–1286), the whole region from Antalya to Denizli was the home of 200,000 tents of Turcomans who constantly raided the coastal settlements, stealing children whom they sold to the Muslims.[80] They also made rugs which were exported through the port of Makri (Fethiye). Though their numbers are greatly exaggerated, these nomads could be a menace to more than their neighbors, by joining in fights even far away. They no doubt account for the Turks from the Maeander who fought alongside Osman at the battle of Bapheus.[81] It is not surprising, then, that the Ilkhan Gaikhatu marked Menteşe for severe devastation as punishment for the Turcomans of the region who had revolted against the Ilkhanids. The relation between the nomadic Turcomans of the interior and the settled outward-looking state of Menteşe are unknown.

The Mongols

Ghazan, who was Ilkhan (1295–1304) when Osman appeared on the scene, brought stability after the chaos of the preceding reigns.[82] He first had to secure Asia Minor where Baltu, the governor he sent in to restore order in 1296, himself revolted the following year. The rebellion was suppressed by Sulemis who was made supreme military commander, but he in turn in November 1298 revolted with Mamluk and Turcoman support. The large force he commanded—reportedly of 50,000—took control of much of Anatolia but was decisively beaten by Ghazan in April 1299. Sulemis escaped to Mamluk territory, raised another army with help from Karaman, Eshref, and the Mamluks, and advanced on Ankara where he was defeated

by Ghazan's commanders Qutlughshah and emir Choban. His execution in September 1299 finally brought some stability.

Close relations with Byzantium were restored following an embassy from Andronicus II late in 1302 which requested help against the Turks and proposed a marriage alliance.[83] Ghazan accepted the terms and agreed to the marriage with an illegitimate daughter of the emperor. Ghazan's death in 1305, however, threatened this arrangement but his successor Uljaytu held to the terms of the treaty by sending a large force to help the emperor against Osman. The other Turcoman chiefs, fearing the Mongols, cut short their attacks on Byzantium.

These years also saw the end of the Seljuk sultanate, itself long powerless, providing only figureheads whose ambitions were inevitably squelched by the Mongols. In 1297, Mesud II, involved in Baltu's revolt, was deposed, exiled to Tabriz, and replaced by his nephew Kaykubad III whose corruption and reputation for bloodthirsty vengeance on his enemies led to his deposition and execution in 1303. Mesud was then restored once again to the powerless sultanate. He was the inglorious last representative of the Seljuks of Rum, dying in obscurity around 1308.

With Anatolia finally under control, Ghazan was able to embark on a perennial Ilkhan ambition, the conquest of Syria. Beginning in November 1299, he managed to take Aleppo and Damascus, but could not hold them and withdrew in January 1301. Another attempt in 1303 also failed.

Ghazan was a reformer who aimed at centralization, uniformity, and stability. His efforts are particularly notable in a comprehensive reform of the coinage carried out in 697 (1298). This provided a standard coinage in several distinctive denominations issued by mints throughout the empire. Their uniform design changed as the coinage was gradually devalued, with the weight of the dirham (the preferred denomination in Asia Minor) declining from 2.28 g under Ghazan to 1.62 in the last years of Abu Sa`id.

Emir Choban was a distinguished military commander who had fought his first battle in 1289 and been continuously in the service of the Ilkhanids. In 1316, following widespread disturbances on the death of Uljaytu, when Karaman had taken Konya, Choban moved west against the Turcomans. He took up winter quarters in Karanbük where he received the submission of the inland emirates: Felekuddin Dundar of Hamid, the Eşrefoğulları of Gurgurum, the sons of Sahip Fahruddin of (Afyon) Karahisar, the beys of Germiyan and the sons of Alişir of Kütahya and neighboring castles, Suleymanpaşa of Kastamonu as well as the Armenian ruler of Sis.[84] These were evidently the emirates that had common frontiers with the Ilkhanid

domain and represent the geographic zone of broken mountainous country between the central plateau and the coastal plains. The maritime states and the Ottomans were beyond Choban's reach (or interest). The emirs all brought suitable gifts and were sent back in peace to their states. This powerful demonstration established a general stability with emirs of the frontier directly subordinate to the Mongols, but Karaman had not appeared. Consequently, the next year Choban crushed the Karamanids and successfully recaptured the old Seljuk capital.

After settling affairs in Anatolia, Choban went east to the court, leaving his son Timurtash in change of Anatolia. Under the new ruler, Abu Sa`id, who was only twelve when he ascended the throne, Choban rapidly rose to dominance. Named commander of the armies in 1317, he married the Ilkhan's sister and appointed his sons to govern the most important provinces. After crushing a plot by rival emirs, he was functionally the ruler of the empire. For a decade, his power was unshaken, but personal problems led to his downfall, beginning in 1325 when he refused to allow Abu Said to marry his daughter. From that moment, the Ilkhan was determined on his destruction; he found a suitable occasion in 1327 when Choban's overweening son Dimashq Khwaja was accused of violating the Ilkhan's harem. He was put to death and order went out to destroy the entire family. Choban fled to Herat where the local ruler had him executed.

Timurtash in the meantime was earning a ferocious and extravagant reputation. In 1320, after Karaman again took Konya, he responded in force, capturing the city and inflicting severe reprisals, much as he did against Cilician Armenia in the next year. In 1323, he took prisoner his worst enemies, the beys of Karaman and Hamid. Success evidently went to his head, for he started to act independently, striking his own coins (which have not survived), inserting his name in the *hutbe* and even claiming to be the Mahdi. He was rescued by his father Choban who took him as prisoner before Abu Sa'id who pardoned him and restored him to his post. His subsequent conquests and disaster belong to the reign of Orhan.

Al-Umari, writing in the 1340s, described the relations between the Ilkhanids and the Turcomans. He explained that when the Mongols took over, the Seljuk sultans were left with titles but no authority. Real power was in the hands of the Mongol governor; the Friday prayer was made in the name of the princes descended from Genghis Khan; gold and silver coins were struck in their name. When the Seljuks were in the last stages of collapse (around 1300), the Turcomans took over a large part of western Anatolia, particularly the mountainous regions where Mongol forces could

not operate. Nevertheless, they didn't stop seeking the goodwill of the Mongols to ensure possession of the regions they had occupied. This situation, marked by submission and revolt, good faith and bad, continued for a long time.

Later, when the Ilkhanids were in decline (1320s and 1330s), the Turks consolidated their power. They recognized the predominance of Germiyan, but each was independent, with complete control over his territory. Their constant occupation was war against their infidel neighbors. Since each was jealous of the others, they sought the support of greater powers, the Mamluks of Egypt and the Ilkhanids. Several sought formal appointments as delegates of the Mamluk sultan, receiving signs of honor—standards, banners robes of honor, swords, and horses. The Turcoman emirs, despite the strength of their mountain position and armies didn't stop courting the goodwill of the rulers of the family of Genghis Khan, sending rich presents and maintaining agents in the Ilkhan court. They all said the Friday prayer in the name of the reigning member of the house of Hulagu, and in particular sought the favor of their neighbor, the Mongol governor.

A Bright Future for Some

An observer, contemplating the Turcoman states that had risen from the ruins of Byzantium in western Asia Minor in the early fourteenth century, would probably have concluded that the future belonged to the maritime Menteşe or Aydın. Both were enormously rich from the trading and raiding that produced monumental buildings in new capitals and was reflected in the production and circulation of abundant silver coins. Each had large and prosperous cities conquered from Byzantium and maintained as centers of administration, trade, and production. Though less well known, Karesi's strategic location on the Aegean and the Marmora enabled it also to trade, raid and provide mercenaries.

A closer look would reveal the emirate of Germiyan, which dominated Aydın and Menteşe and was recognized as the most powerful of all these states and appeared to have an unshakable position, no doubt helped by its central location bordering Karesi, Saruhan, Aydın, Hamid, and the lands of Osman and the Mongols. The future of the outlying Candaroğlu emirate also looked bright after it acquired Sinope, center of the Black Sea trade.

Beside these flourishing states, the landlocked Ottoman emirate would have seemed a minor player in a remote area, without large cities or important

natural resources. Militarily, though, it had potential, especially because it directly faced the declining but still impressive Byzantine empire. Osman had won a significant victory over a not very large Byzantine army, was poised to capture the powerfully fortified Nicaea, and appears to have established control over the route along the Sangarius giving his forces access to Nicomedia and the Black Sea coast. But these conquests looked ephemeral after 1307 when a massive Mongol army moved against him, driving his forces from the plains and recent conquests back into the hills. Osman vanishes from the scene for almost twenty years; when he reappears with his son Orhan, the situation is about to change drastically.

APPENDIX

The Date of the Death of Osman

This seemingly straightforward question turns out, as usual, to be complicated by contradictions in the sources.

APZ (cap. 23) narrates that Osman was alive during the conquest of Bursa in 726 but didn't participate because of gout and primarily because he wanted to see Orhan win glory of his own. The first Ottoman coin, struck by Orhan in Bursa in 727 provides a *terminus ante quem*. A Byzantine short chronicle gives an exact date for the fall of Bursa: 6 April 1326. The Anonymous (p. 20f.) adds that Osman died in 727 after reigning for nineteen years.

So far, so good, but the source closest to the events, Ibn Battuta who visited Bursa in 1332, muddies the waters as he writes about Orhan: (p. 452): "It was his father who captured the city of Bursa from the hands of the Greeks and his tomb is in the mosque which was formerly a church of the Christians. It is told that he besieged the city of Yaznik [Nicaea] for about twenty years but died before it was taken. Then this son of his besieged it for twelve years before capturing it." By this account Osman himself took Bursa and besieged Yaznik for about twenty years which can be calculated: Iznik fell in 1331, so Orhan had been attacking it since 1319 and Osman before him since about 1299, a momentous date that marks the beginning of Ottoman independence. This would have Osman dying around 1319, incompatible with his taking Bursa. Plainly, the traveler has confused Bursa and Iznik in a way that is difficult to sort out. The dates given by the Anonymous would have Osman coming to power in 1308, a date which finds no support.

A document comes to the rescue: the endowment deed of the hospice at Mekece is dated March 1324 (Beldiceanu 1967, 88; Lowry 2003, 75–8 with text). It is headed by the *tughra* of Orhan who plainly is in charge, indicating that Osman was no longer ruling and presumably deceased by that time. Mme Beldiceanu (p.

372) narrows the options by adducing the figure of Osman's wife Malhatun who is supposed to have died three months before Osman (APZ 28). Since she appears in the Mekece document, Osman would have died between March 1324 and April 1326. One of the witnesses at Mekece was in fact Mal khatun daughter of Umar beg and certainly a member of the Ottoman family like the other signatories who include four brothers of Orhan and Osman's daughter and granddaughter. But was this Osman's wife? Not certain, for the tradition names that wife as Malhun daughter of Sheikh Edebali (APZ 4, 28).

Since it is impossible iron out all the contradictions, it is probably safest to presume that Osman died a few years before or after 1324, so best to use "c.1320" or "c.1324," dates that also mark the accession of Orhan.

Notes

1. Pachymeres XI.9 (4.425).
2. See p. 113.
3. See the discussions of Menteşe and Kastamonu, next.
4. Cantacuzene II.591.
5. Note that Gregoras omits Kastamonu and Menteşe, and presents a major anachronism by including Sasa who disappeared from the scene in 1307 and Saruhan who didn't capture his capital Magnesia until 1313.
6. For relations between the Christian powers and the emirates of Menteşe and Aydın, with analysis of the trade and texts of treaties, see Zachariadou 1983.
7. Osman's lands and career are discussed in greater topographical detail in Chapter 1.
8. On this and subsequent dates, see p. 920, n. 47.
9. Neşri 71–3; Haci Bektaş: Taeschner 1928, 101 n. 1.
10. Neşri 65–9 reports the conquest of Karacahisar by Ertuğrul together with Sultan Ala ad-Din and its loss after the death of the sultan (1237); this seems a fiction to justify Osman's much later occupation of the place (APZ cap. 6); the resemblance of the two accounts of the conquest suggests that the earlier is just a retrojection of the later.
11. For the geography of Eskişehir and its history in this period, see Lindner 2007, 57–67.
12. Al-Umari 350 from Balban. Its location between the lands of Suleyman Pasha (Paphlagonia) and Germiyan leaves no doubt that Sultanönü/Eskişehir is meant.
13. For the date, see Wittek 1932, 351–4 but note that according to Cantacuzene III.284, the Ottomans conquered Ankara in 1364, together with Gerede.
14. See above, p. 39.
15. Beldiceanu 2000b; see above, n. 11.
16. For Karacahisar and the problems it poses, with full consideration of the sources, see Lindner 2007, 67–80, and for its history in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, Doğru 2001.

17. Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1967, 86 n. 8. See also Chapter 4.
18. Toğan 1970, 331; cf. Turan 1971, 623–5. See Rashid al-Din 3, 643: Sulemish granted the title of amir and banners to his followers who were drawn from Syria and the frontiers.
19. Iznik in the title, Iznikmid in the text of the chapter.
20. al-Umari 340.
21. Ibn Battuta 456.
22. For a comprehensive chronology, see Danişmend 1947, 1–26; he often diverges considerably from the traditional dates.
23. But note that Mme Beldiceanu (2003, 367 n. 119) would place the conquest of Bilecik and Yarhisar in 1309 or 1310.
24. Attested by both Pachymeres XI.21 (4.455) and APZ cap. 20 in a rare coincidence of sources. The document is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.
25. For the full history of Germiyan, with relevant texts, see Varlık 1974.
26. RCEA 13, 5080.
27. *Destan* 21f.
28. Aflaki 661–3. The passage about Birgi seems to indicate that it was then under Yakub of Germiyan's control (through his *subashi*).
29. Ibid.
30. Pachymeres XI.21 (4.463); XI.23 (4.469); XI.25 (4.479).
31. Gregoras I.214.
32. A point made by Mme Beldiceanu 1984, 20f.; cf. Flemming 1964, 29f.
33. See below, p. 181.
34. The date is discussed (see Beldiceanu 1984, 20f.) but the main source, Aksarayi 251f. makes it clear that Choban's expedition was to bring the Turcomans to order, following the death of Uljaytu in 1316.
35. Uşak: Varlık 1974, 43f., 143f.; Sandıklı: RCEA 14, 5517.
36. See Chapter 7, pp. 208–211.
37. Yücel 1980, 33–51; cf. Cahen 1971.
38. Marino Sanudo ap. Hopf 144f.; for Licario, see Pachymeres V.27 (2.525–9). The Turk's surname, Caraman, might suggest that he had a connection with Germiyan.
39. Aksarayi 251f,; for the date, see note **00**.
40. See Zachariadou 1997.
41. See **000**.
42. Yücel 1980, 53–60.
43. Diler 2006, 359, 399; Ender 2003, 33–9.
44. See Cahen 1974, chapter XI, 44, 48.
45. Korobeinikov 2014, 274–80 and in its full complexity *idem* 2004; these events are all very obscure.
46. Pachymeres II.6 (1.139f.). For the history of Philadelphia 1290–1390, see Ahrweiler 1983 which draws on an impressive array of sources.

47. See above, p. 121.
48. Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1984, 17–22; Ahrweiler 1983, 184, 190; see Chapter 2, n. **00**.
49. Gregoras I.360–362; Schreiner 1969, 389–95. For the local production, Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1984, 29–34, Schreiner 1969, 411f.
50. See Ahrweiler 1983, 184.
51. He was Manuel Tagaris, a well-known imperial official.
52. Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1984, 22–9.
53. Kalames apparently died before the emirate was established, for it bears his son's name.
54. For the history of the emirate, see Uzunçarşılı 1969, 96–103 and Zachariadou 1993b.
55. Pachymeres XI.26 (4.481), XI.27 (4.487f.) In both cases—as in the examples that follow—the author refers only to "Persians" (i.e., Turks) without reference to specific tribes or leaders.
56. Pachymeres X.26 (4.369), XI.21, 23 (4.465–9).
57. Pachymeres XII.34 (4.609).
58. Ender 2000, 21f.
59. But Saruhan Bey (c.1310–1345) did issue Western-style silver coins in the 1330s which will be discussed in Chapter 6.
60. See, below, p. 196.
61. See the inscriptions published by Wittek in Riefstahl 102–6.
62. Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1984, 22–9.
63. Ender 2000, 173f., who lists these under Menteşe though they must be of Aydın.
64. See Lemerle 1957, 40–50 for Smyrna in this period.
65. Foss 1979, 145.
66. Korobeinikov 2014, 253.
67. Marino Sanudo in Hopf, 1873, 145; Pachymeres VI.20–21 (2.591–9).
68. Korobeinikov 2014, 263.
69. Uzunçarşılı 1969, 70–83.
70. See Wittek 1934, 24–53 for the obscure early history of Menteşe; cf. Korobeinikov 2014, 254–6 with a speculative identification of Menteşe as a Turkish-Kurdish tribal confederation from eastern Anatolia.
71. Pachymeres VII.26 (3.81f.).
72. For the abandonment of the Byzantine fleet and its consequences, see Ahrweiler 1966, 374–81.
73. Wittek 1934, 46f., 58.
74. Pachymeres XIII.13 (4.647f). Sasan is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.
75. Gregoras I.214.
76. Wittek 1934, 54 prefers to identify this figure as the son of Menteşe, mentioned in a document of 1366.

77. Zachariadou 11f.
78. Wittek 65, cf. Zachariadou 1983, 14.
79. See above, p. 180 and Foss 2019 p. 193.
80. See Cahen 1974, 42f.
81. See above, p. 108.
82. Like the previous chapter, "The Overlords," this section is a compilation from standard works, intended to provide background information.
83. The course of Byzantine-Ilkhanid relations during the previous twenty years is unknown: Korobeinikov 2014, 210.
84. Aksarayi 251f.

7
Western Asia Minor in the 1330s

By a remarkable coincidence, three sources that describe the emirates in some detail are all contemporary, dating from the reign of Orhan:

Ibn Battuta (1304–1368 or 1377), was a native of Morocco to which he always returned from travels that took him to most of the known world. His family was traditionally associated with the office of *kadi* which he held himself toward end of his life. He is known only from the travels which brought him fame, high office, and adventure: these included the inner Islamic lands plus Central Asia, India, China, Constantinople, and Black Africa. In 1332 he visited Asia Minor where his account of the various Turcoman states provides a unique level of personal information.[1]

Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Fadl Allah al-Umari (1301–1349), born in Damascus, became a high-level administrator who rose to be head of chancery in Cairo and Damascus, but was dismissed from both and imprisoned. He was a prolific writer, noted for his detailed analysis of the organization of the Mamluk empire and for his encyclopedic *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* which incorporates the works of Haydar al-Uryan of Sivrihisar in Anatolia, who returned from there in 1333, and Balban the Genoese (born Domenico Doria) whose information also dates from the 1330s. Umari gives the date of al-Uryan's visit and notes that he met Balban while they were both in prison, so between 1337 and 1339. It is important to distinguish the summary account of al-Uryan from the more detailed description of Balban, rather than to subsume them both under al-Umari.[2] Neither account, though, is as personal or vivid as that of ibn Battuta.

A unique source, an epic poem the Dusturname, presents the story of one ruler, Umur of Aydın (1326–1348) who gained renown for his spectacular campaigns against the Christian lands of Greece and Thrace. Little is known of its author, Enveri, who participated in Mehmet II's expeditions in the Balkans and finished his epic in 1465, drawing on lost earlier sources. He covered the period from 1317 to 1348 in some detail, focusing on Aydın but bringing in the neighboring emirates as necessary.[3]

European sources provide important political and economic information, notable among them the six treaties concluded between the Venetian

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governor of Crete (and, on occasion, other European powers) with the rulers of Menteşe and Aydın. They date from 1331 to 1353.[4]

Francesco Pegolotti (c.1290–1347), Florentine politician and merchant, worked in Antwerp, London, and Cyprus. He produced a manual, La pratica della mercatura between 1335 and 1343 which gives practical information about all the places reached by Italian trade, as far away as Iran, Russia, and China but predominantly the Mediterranean.[5]

Coins and inscriptions will be adduced to complete the range of contemporary sources.[6]

The following conspectus will present a quick view of the emirates, their cities and military strength as presented by the three contemporaries.[7] Deformed place names—common in al-Umari—have been corrected wherever possible; those in quotation marks could not be resolved (Table 7.1).

The three sources agree to a considerable degree about the number of emirates and their major cities, but the estimates of their armed forces vary so widely that it seems possible only to treat them as representing orders of

Table 7.1

Ibn Battuta	Al-Uryan	Balban
Menteşe Mughla, Milas	Milas 3,000	Mughla 100,000 (!)
Aydın Birgi, Ayasuluk, Yazmir	Berki 10,000	Berki 70,000
Saruhan Maghnisiya	"Kasberdik" 8,000	Nif 8,000 Maghnisiya 10,000
Karesi Barghama, Bali Kasri	Balikesir, Bergama 200,000 (!)	Akira, Bergama 20,000
—	—	**Sultan Önü**[8]
Ottoman Bursa, Yaznik, Makaja, Kawiya, Yanija, Kainuk, Muturni, Buli	(Orhan) 25,000	Bursa 40,000
—	**Kainuk Hisar** 3,000	—
Gerede Garadaibuli	Kerdeleh 3,000	—
		"Qawiya" "Qawiya" 14,000
Candaroğlu Burlu, Qastamuniya, Sanub	Kastamonu, Sinop, "Bura" 30,000	Kastamonu, Sinop 25,000

magnitude, with some very large and some very small states. Note that Ibn Battuta calls all the rulers "sultan" and their governors "amir." For al-Umari's sources each beylik is a "memleket"; both identify the states by the name of their capitals.

Menteşe

Ibn Battuta 428 first stopped in Mughla where he met Ibrahim Beg, son of the sultan of Milas, then (428–430) proceeded to Milas which he considered one of the finest, largest cities of Rum; its sultan Shuja al-Din Urkhan Beg son of al-Mantasha, one of the best of princes. A body of Doctor of Law was always at his court. Menteşe at this time was on bad terms with Ayasuluk. The Sultan's residence was in Barjin (Peçin) two miles from Milas, a new place with fine buildings and mosques (Fig. 7.1). When Ibn Battuta passed through, the congregational mosque had not yet been finished, but an inscription shows that it was completed in 1332.[9]

In Milas, as in most of the places where he stayed in Asia Minor, Ibn Battuta enjoyed the hospitality of the Young Akhis, members of an organization of merchants and artisans who offered hospitality to strangers, defended the local population against tyrants and criminals, and even acted as governors in cities where there was no sultan.[10]

Al-Uryan 21/339 sparsely notes that the sons of Menteşe rule Milas and have only 3,000 horsemen but adds the detail that the emir of Finike (in Lycia) who rules in the name of the sovereign of Antalya (Haydar, son of

Fig. 7.1 Peçin, Menteşe's new capital

Dundar of the Hamidoğulları) himself belongs to the family of Menteşe. This may reflect conquest of some of Menteşe's lands by Hamid in the troubles that followed the death of Uljaytu in 1316, or a marriage alliance between the two neighboring emirates which often cooperated in revolts against the Mongols.[11]

Balban 47f./370: The memleket of Mughla was ruled by Orkhan son of Menteşe.[12] It had 50 cities, 200 forts. and an (implausibly large) army of 100,000. Its army constantly fights infidels and Muslims (something the sources—especially the Ottoman—do not usually admit). On ship or horse; he is in arms night and day, never rests, and is victorious virtually everywhere. Among Turk emirs, only Germiyan tries to gain his friendship and good will; Germiyan is the only prince whose superiority Menteşe recognizes; all the rest are considered inferior by rank.

Western

Two treaties of this period between the Venetian governor of Crete and Menteşe have survived. The treaty of 1331, concluded with Orhan, provided protection for merchants of both sides and land to the Italians for a church and houses in Palatia, Menteşe's capital, where a Venetian consul was already established.[13] Here, the Italians bought horses, cattle, sheep, leather, carpets, grain and sold wine, soap, and textiles.[14] This treaty was followed by another in 1337, concluded with Ibrahim, which dealt in more detail with freedom of navigation, solution of disputes and maintenance of peace—all to apply to a large region of Greece controlled by Venice. The Duke of Crete promised not to collaborate or associate with the enemies of Menteşe. An array of subordinate rulers also swore to obey the treaty: Ibrahim's brother Hızır of Çine, Elyas Beg of Tavas, Melik-Eshref of Makri, and the kadis of Palatia and Milas.[15] The treaty was renewed in 1353.[16]

Inclusion of Elyas Beg of Tavas may indicate a recent expansion of Menteşe, for when Ibn Battuta visited the castle, heavily fortified against robbers (presumably Turcomans), it was under the command of Ilyas Beg, who is not mentioned as subordinate to Menteşe.[17] Balban described "Tawaza" as being under an independent prince who had four fortresses and 600 towns, with an army of 4,000 cavalry and 10,000 foot.[18] Control of Tavas would mean that Menteşe's power extended far inland, to the lands dominated by Turcoman nomads.

Pegolotti mentions Palatia only briefly, as a source of grain and as one of the ports from which the alum of Kütahya was shipped.[19]

Inscriptions

Inscriptions attest to the construction of a mosque in Milas and of a grand congregational mosque in the new capital Peçin.[20]

Coins

Orkhan (c.1320–1335) struck coins in Milas—in a normal beylik type.[21] His mint in Palatia produced remarkable silver coins of a purely western type. They portray an enthroned king holding a scepter and globus cross on the obverse and a cross entwined with lilies on the reverse. Struck in fine silver to a standard of around 3.75 grams and averaging 29 mm in diameter, they correspond in every respect to the so-called *gigliati* of Robert of Anjou, king of Naples (1309–1343), but their inscriptions make it clear that they were issues of Orkhan of Menteşe:

HANC MONETAM F:IER[I] I[VSSI]T VRCN: I: E
MANDAVIT DOMINVS PA:LATIE

These were evidently issued to facilitate the extensive trade between Menteşe and the Christian states of the Aegean and Mediterranean, but they seem to have been an experiment that failed, for they were struck in exceedingly small quantities. Much more common were direct imitations of the Neapolitan coins, struck perhaps in Palatia.[22] Aydın and Saruhan produced similar *gigliati*.

Menteşe was a rich and successful state whose extensive trade was supplemented by raiding. Successful raiding brought revenue from Greek states: in 1332 Menteşe imposed tribute on the duke of Naxos and by 1337 also on Negroponte (Euboea). However, profitable joint expeditions with Aydın came to an end in 1332 as the emirates began to quarrel.[23]

Its wealth enabled Menteşe to maintain an army and a fleet and to build an entirely new capital city. Its sultan ruled from Milas, his son's headquarters was in Mughla while other relatives commanded three other capitals.

Palatia, the ancient Miletus, the economic center of the beylik and the place where gigliati were struck was evidently under the sultan's direct control. In terms of wealth, Menteşe was apparently second only to Aydın and in prestige inferior only to Germiyan.

Aydın

When ibn Battuta (438–447) came to Aydin's capital Birgi (Fig. 7.2), Mehmet son of Aydın (1307–1334) entertained him lavishly, first in the mountain resort (the modern Bozdağ) where he spent the summer, enjoying the cool streams and the shade of the walnut trees (Fig. 7.3). The sultan, whom ibn Battuta described as one of the best, most generous, and worthiest, sent his sons Hızır and Umur to greet the traveler and provide him with tents and rugs, asking him to write down hadiths that he knew, for the sultan was an avid patron of Koranic learning. After a long stay in the mountain, ibn Battuta and Mehmet descended to his palace in Birgi to be greeted by elegantly attired Greek pages. A long flight of stairs led up to the audience hall that had a pool with bronze lions at each corner spouting water and raised benches covered with carpets. Koran readers were in constant attendance. After lavish banquets, where food was served in gold

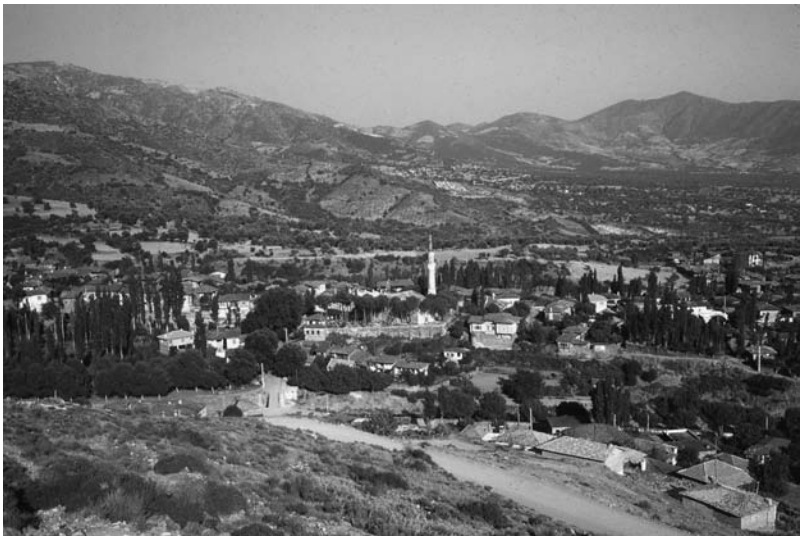

Fig. 7.2 Birgi, Aydın's capital [50]

Fig. 7.3 Aydın's summer resort

and silver bowls, and loaded with gifts that included a hundred gold dinars and a thousand silver dirhams, Ibn Battuta departed, a Greek slave added to his retinue by the sultan. He described the other centers of the emirate, ruled by Mehmet's sons:

Tire: a fine town with running streams, gardens, and fruits. Ibn Battuta did not meet the governor, Mehmet's younger son Suleiman, who had fled to his father-in-law Orhan of Menteşe.

Ayasuluk: Governor Hidir Beg: Its congregational mosque, converted from a Greek church was one of the most beautiful mosques in the world, with its walls and floor of marble and pools under its eleven domes. The city had fifteen gates and was traversed by a river bordered by trees, vines, and trellises of jasmine (Fig. 7.4).

Yazmir: mostly in ruins (probably from the 1327–1329 war when Umur captured the harbor fortress from the Christians). Its amir the generous pious Omar Beg was constantly involved in jihad against the Christians whom he attacked with his galleys, ravaging the lands of Constantinople. After a successful expedition, he would give away all the loot, then have to fight another campaign.

According to al-Uryan 21/339, Mehmet son of Aydın who ruled from Birgi, had some 10,000 horses but lived in compete isolation without friends or allies; a mysterious description.[24]

Fig. 7.4 The citadel of Ephesus

Balban 45f./369: reported that the state was ruled by sons of Aydın; its capital was Berki. It had 60 cities, 300 forts, and an army of 70,000 horsemen, all warlike, skilled with the sword and lance. They have fought memorable wars against Greeks, Franks, and other infidels.

Western Sources

Trade was as important as raiding and doubtless a more dependable source of wealth (Fig. 7.5). Its main entrepôt was Ayasuluk, the ancient Ephesus, which for Pegolotti was one of the major ports of Turchia.[25] Part of its huge church had been turned into a market, where silk, wool, wheat, and other products were on sale. Slaves were also an important item of commerce. Altoluogo, as the Italians called the city, provided a market for gaudy European fabrics: azure, vermilion, emerald, pistachio, and turquoise cloth were especial in demand, as were Florentine dyes for wool. In return, the Turks sold alum, grain, wax, rice, and hemp.[26] The alum was produced near Kütahya in Germiyan and exported through Altoluogo. Hızır's capital traded with Pisa, Florence, Venice, Constantinople, Cyprus, and Rhodes.[27]

This rich trade naturally needed to be regulated, so in 1337, for the first time, Aydın and the Venetians of Crete made a treaty: it was concluded with

Fig. 7.5 The Cayster valley, one source of Aydın's wealth

"Çelebi" lord and emir of Theologos, his brother Umur and his other brothers, the sons of Aydın. It provided for an Italian consul at Theologos, land in the city for Italian merchants and a promise that Aydın would not put ships to sea during the duration of the treaty.[28]

Coins

Only a few of Aydın's rulers issued coins. Mehmet (1307–1334), Ibrahim (1334–1356?), and Suleyman (1334–1349)—all of whom reigned in the Cayster valley—issued silver pieces without mint or date; all are extremely rare. Western style gigliati struck in Ayasuluk (Theologos) do not bear the sovereign's name but were probably issued by order of Hızır (1334–1360), closely involved in trade with the West (Fig. 7.6).

They are inscribed:

MONETA.QVE.FIT.IN.ThEOLOGOS/DE MANDATO DNI EIVSDE[M] LOCI.

A unique gold piece, modeled on that of Florence, was a product of the same mint.

Fig. 7.6 Silver gigliato of Theologos (Ephesus). Courtesy of the Princeton University Numismatic Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Firestone Library

Inscriptions

Inscriptions attest the building of Mehmet's tomb in Birgi in 1334 and two mosques in Tire in 1338.[29]

Umur Bey

Umur of Izmir, alone among all these beys, was the subject of an epic poem, known as the Destan, which in 2514 verses describes his life and exploits in heroic terms, with full details of his attacks on the infidels of Greece, Thrace, and the islands.

In 1326 or 1327, Mehmet Ibn Aydın divided his lands among his sons, an activity characteristic of other emirates.[30] Hızır, the eldest, received Ayasuluk and Sultan Hisar, lands at both ends of the emirate, evidently to protect the frontiers. Assigning lands so widely separated seems anomalous, but note the coins struck in the name of Uljaytu in 1310 in precisely these two places.[31] In fact, there is a precedent for such an assignment: the Mongols normally gave their eldest sons the lands farthest from the capital, presumably to defend or advance the frontiers.[32] The Ilkhans in particular sent the heir to the throne to govern the unruly and remote frontier district of Khorasan.[33] Mongol influence might not have been out of place here, for Aydın was (or had been) subordinate to Germiyan which in its turn had submitted to the Ilkhans.

In any case, the second son Umur got Izmir, Ibrahim Bodemya,[34] and Suleyman Tire, while Mehmet himself stayed in Birgi. The major Byzantine center Tralles, now called Aydın, does not appear. It apparently lay in ruins since its capture by Menteşe in 1284.[35] This division did not imply the breakup of the emirate, for the brothers continued to cooperate, even after the death of their father in 1334. Sultan Mehmet, despite his remote location on the slopes of the mountain, far from the scenes of action, had enjoyed great success and wealth. He had already built the first monumental mosque of any of these emirates. Not entirely in vain did he claim the grandiose titles that adorned his tomb there: 'the great sultan, the fighter of holy war, defender of the faith, founder of pious works, sultan of the ghazis, fighter for the state and the religion."[36]

The two decades from his conquest of Izmir in 1329 brought Umur to the height of his power and renown.[37] In 1332, he attacked Gallipoli, the islands, and the Peloponnesus. He renewed his operations in the Peloponnesus in 1335. In the same year, he led an attack on long-suffering Philadelphia, described as the point of passage between Germiyan, Saruhan and Aydın. Umur didn't take the city, but extracted tribute and withdrew. Soon after, he met with Cantacuzene and agreed to renounce the tribute. Now cooperating with Byzantium, he sent a mercenary force into Albania in 1337, moved against crusader-occupied Greece two years later and in 1341 even sent a fleet to the mouth of the Danube. All this required money, ships, and manpower.

After 1329, when he gained full control of Izmir, Umur made it his arsenal for constructing fleets and his base for launching them against Thrace and Greece.[38] The numbers were impressive, rising from 28 ships in 1330 to 250 two years later, 270 in 1335 and 350 in 1341. Some of these totals at least would have included ships from Saruhan and Karesi which joined in the expeditions.[39] Similarly, the manpower involved included warriors eager not only for plunder but to participate as ghazis against the infidel. By 1343, Umur could command a force of 15,000. These large numbers in turn provoked a need for campaigns that would bring back loot or involve lucrative service as mercenaries, especially when he was in alliance with Cantacuzene.[40]

By all accounts, Aydın was the richest and most active of these states, its wealth from trade centered on its great port of Ayasuluk and from the extensive raiding of the most glorious figure of the age, Umur of Izmir. A contemporary observer, overwhelmed by the manifestations of wealth throughout the emirate could reasonably have supposed that Aydın was destined for a great future as the leading Turcoman state. Four brothers ruled from four capitals, all in cooperation and recognizing Umur as the

leader. But note that Umur spent money as soon as he acquired it and that his expeditions were aimed at loot, not conquest. Like most of these emirates the frontiers of Aydın appear to have remained stable, with no territory gained or lost.

Philadelphia

The anomalous Byzantine city of Philadelphia prospered through this decade, despite the inevitable problems of attack by its neighbors and consequent tribute to be paid to them. Its relation to the Empire, from which it was cut off by the adjacent emirates, has not been determined.

In any case, it attracted the attention of Umur of Aydin who in 1335 attacked Philadelphia. The Destan reports the event in terms that seem to claim that, after a long siege, Umur captured and looted the city and installed a garrison. Its tekfur supposedly surrendered and a messenger rushed off to give the bad news to the tekfur of Istanbul.[41] Alternatively, the text could mean that Philadelphia surrendered on terms, paying a huge ransom. This seems the more likely, for not long after Cantacuzene came to Clazomenae west of Izmir and made a deal by which Umur agreed to cancel the tribute and to become an ally of the Empire. The terms were confirmed by the emperor in person, meeting Umur off the mountainous peninsula of Kara Burun west of Izmir.[42]

Pegolotti, writing around this time, mentions the "Perperi di Filadelfia," i.e., gold coins struck in Philadelphia. These coins have not been identified; if the information is correct, it would indicate a high level of prosperity.[43]

Saruhan

Ibn Battuta (447f.) called Magnesia a large fine city on a hill with a rich fertile plain. Fuja (Phocaea), a strongly fortified infidel city on the coast a day's journey away sent gifts every year to the sultan, who in turn left them alone.

On their way across the mountains from Magnisia to Bergama, Ibn Battuta's party encountered a Turcoman camp and had to stand watch all night against robbery.

Al-Uryan 21/339 calls this beylik "Kasberdik," a name that has not been resolved. It had 8,000 horsemen.

Balban 44f./367–9) divides his discussion into two chapters, Nif (the ancient Nymphaeum) and Manisa:

Nif's ruler Ali pasha brother of Saruhan had eight cities and 30 forts. His 8,000 horses were joined by a flood of infantry who fought with bows and javelins. The province extended along the mountain heights (Figs. 7.7, 7.8).

Saruhan ruling from Manisa had 15 cities and 20 forts with an army of 10,000 horses, all warlike. The inhabitants mounted frequent naval expeditions, never letting themselves be surprised. Both states were distinguished by their wars against the infidels.

The only coinage attributable to this period, issued by Saruhan Bey (1300–1345) consists of two types of gigliati like those of Menteşe and Aydın, inscribed

MONETA: QVE: FIT: MNGLASIE
DE: VOLVNTE: DNI: EISDEM: [L]O[C]I
or: M[ONETA MANGLA]SIE SARCANI
DE VOL[VNTAT]E DNI EISD LOCI

They are extremely rare.

Fig. 7.7 Nif/Nymphaeum: Byzantine and later fortifications [55]

Fig. 7.8 Nymphaeum: the Lascarid palace

The rich emirate of Saruhan receives only scanty notice.[44] It came to the attention of Byzantium when it was attacking imperial territory, often in alliance with one of its neighbors. Ibn Battuta and al-Umari provide the only information about the emirate itself.

Byzantine sources reflect the changing relations between emirate and empire. It was probably in 1332 that Suleyman, son of Saruhan organized an attack on Gallipoli together with Umur and the son of the emir of Menteşe; they returned after capturing a small coastal fort.[45] In 1335, the emperor Andronicus III came in person to Phocaea to seek help against the Genoese who had taken Mitylene. From there, he sent a message to Saruhan "who ruled the lands east of Phocaea." The emir met the emperor and concluded an alliance, promising men and ships to attack Mitylene and the strategic Genoese New Phocaea. Saruhan's twenty-four ships, together with forces provided by Umur, prevailed: the Genoese returned Mitylene but were allowed to keep New Phocaea under Byzantine sovereignty. Saruhan in turn promised to continue to supply New Phocaea with foodstuffs.[46]

In 1341, "Sarkhanes satrap of Lydia" joined Yahşi of Pergamum in attacking Thrace where they were severely defeated. In the Byzantine riposte, Saruhan's coastland was ravaged and one (unnamed) town captured, producing many slaves.[47]

Saruhan was evidently a middling power, oriented toward the west through trade (as attested by the gigliati, one of which was found in the Sardis excavations) or raiding, often in alliance with the other maritime states. Saruhan had an army and a fleet, both of moderate size. Its efforts were especially directed toward the Genoese base of New Phocaea which sometimes brought it to cooperate with Byzantium. It was a family affair, with the main ruler in Manisa and his brother in Nymphaeum. The sources say nothing about Saruhan's control of the Hermus valley, one of the richest in Asia Minor, but their writ hardly extended to the mountains on the north where there was danger from nomad Turcomans.

Karesi

Ibn Battuta (448f.) described Bergama as a city in ruins with a great fortress (Fig. 7.9); he didn't meet Yahşi Khan who was in his summer campgrounds. He did meet Dumur Khan (whom he considered worthless) and visited the fine populous city of Balikesir, built by the sultan's father. Its congregational mosque was still lacking a roof. Ibn Battuta notes that these rulers used the title khan, more exalted than the usual beg of the other emirs.[48]

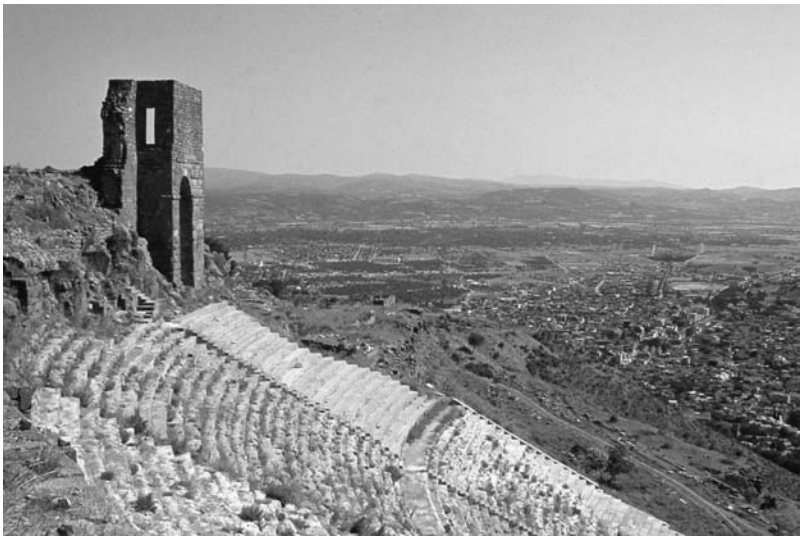

Fig. 7.9 Bergama, a Karesi capital

Fig. 7.10 Achyraous/"Akira," Karesi's first capital

For al-Uryan (22/339), the principality of Balıkesir belonged to Demirhan son of Karesi, with a subordinate (whose name, "Senbogha" has been garbled) governing Pergamum, two days away. The whole country was fertile, easy to defend, and comprised a vast territory. The army was very small, with no more than 200 horsemen, and yet the ruler had no fear, relying on the strong position of his country, which no one would dare to try to conquer.

Balban (43f./365f.) describes two states: "Akira" (Achyraous), ruled by Demirkhan son of Karesi, and "Marmara", the domain of his brother Yahşi[49] (Fig. 7.10). Demirkhan was a neighbor of Orhan; his domain crossed by travelers on their way to Sinope. Its cities, fortresses and troops were more numerous than those of Orhan; its inhabitants had more strength and energy. Its warlike ruler, who never let himself be surprised, constantly fought with the Greeks, putting many ships to sea. The state produced enormous quantities of silk and laudanum which they exported to the Greeks.

Yahşi of "Marmara," son of Karesi and brother of Demirkhan, ruled 15 cities and 15 forts, all on high mountains next to the sea. He had 20,000 horses and was constantly at war with the Greeks, equipping fleets to ravage their lands. The brave warlike inhabitants fought without respite, not stopped by city walls or deserts. They captured many young Greeks and daughters of the "Khozars." Large numbers of slaves were captured in war; slave dealers arrived every day.

Western

Pegolotti (24) reported that: "Lupai" (i.e., Lopadium) produced alum of middling quality which was exported through the port of Triglia on the Marmora, a town also noted for its wine.[50]

The Karesi family appears in history in 1328 when Andronicus III came to Cyzicus and Pegae to negotiate with the "ruler of Phrygia," Temirhan son of Yahşi, about the imperial possessions in the Hellespont region, which Karesi had been harassing.[51] The discussions, during which Temirhan symbolically submitted to the emperor, produced a promise by the emir not to attack Byzantine territories—a promise that was kept. Temirhan (1327–1335) is usually considered to have been the brother, not the son, of Yahşi (1327–1343). It appears, then, that the senior branch of the family, represented by Temirhan, ruled interior Mysia from Balikesir, while Yahşi and his family, with their capital in Pergamum, controlled the coastlands, hence their association with Troy, the Hellespont and the Marmora. Yahşi's son Suleyman appears to have been based in the Troad.[52] Balıkesir itself was a new capital, built up by Karesi bey.

Yahşi did indeed build fleets and used them to raid Thrace. By 1334 he had taken control of Adramyttion and was planning, according to an Italian source, to embark on piracy with a large fleet. It was crushed by a coalition of the Christian powers.[53] Nevertheless, in 1337, "the Turks of Troy and the Hellespont" embarked their forces on ships and attacked Thrace.[54]

Coins

Each of the rulers of this dynasty struck coins, none of them bearing mintmark or date. Those of Suleyman, the son of Yahşi, uniquely feature a bust on the obverse (otherwise coins of the emirates were aniconic) while those of Yahşi give him—anomalously, for the written sources describe him as subordinate to Demirhan—the grand title of amir al-a'zam and even al-sultan al-a'zam.[55] Note that the sequence of coins continues past 1343, into the reign of the otherwise unknown Beylerbeyi Çelebi, who apparently succeeded Yahşi. His akçe is identical in type to one of the issues of Orhan, suggesting a close monetary association on the eve of the Ottoman conquest.[56] It is conceivable that he is the "Haci Ilbeyi" of APZ. Both have titles, not real names, and "Haci Ilbeyi" is supposed to have gone on ruling Bergama after the rest of the emirate had fallen to Orhan, just as Beylerbeyi Çelebi seems to have been the last emir of Karesi.[57]

Although it ruled a large and strategic territory, with coasts of the sea on Marmora and the Aegean, the history of Karesi is poorly known. It was ruled by two brothers; the senior had a newly built capital of Balıkesir in the interior while his colleague of Bergama controlled the coastlands. Both had close relations with Byzantium, friendly or hostile, and gained the reputation of successful fighters against the infidel Greeks. Although it appears to have been a middling power, Karesi had a reputation of strength, easily able to defend itself and more powerful than its neighbor, Orhan. As it turned out, both al-Uryan and Balban were totally mistaken.

Germiyan

Ibn Battuta (424f) never visited Germiyan, for the Sultan of Göl Hisar sent a body of horsemen to escort his party to Ladhiq because the plain was infested by troops brigands called al-Jarmiyan. They were said to be descendants of Yazid ibn Muawiya and they had a city called Kutahiya. "God preserved us from them," the traveler concluded.

For al-Uryan (22/340), Germiyan son of Alishir (? text has Ghadshahr) ruled from Kütahya. His 40,000 horsemen, constantly trained in combat, were practically invincible. He enjoyed absolute authority. The Turkish emirs hated him and did all they could to destroy him.

According to Balban (30f./348f.), all the Turkish emirs recognized the authority of the ruler of Germiyan rendering him in many ways the honors due a sultan. Some pay a fixed tribute; others send gifts. They turn to him when they have trouble and are happy to follow his advice; they use his support to gain advantage over each other. They receive from him robes, presents, appointments, and marks of honor. Although he cannot appoint or dismiss them, he has unchallenged authority. But his relations with them are like those that existed between the last caliphs and the rulers of the various states. They are obliged to use all the formulas of politesse in addressing him. He has the most land, subjects, and soldiers of all.

(33/351): Germiyan was the most important of sixteen principalities, the closest to the lands of the family of Genghis Khan.

(34–36/354): Germiyan exercises sovereignty over the Turkish chiefs, expands his lands at their expense. His capital was Kütahya, a large city with an important citadel (Figs. 7.11, 7.12). His land was rich, well populated and cultivated, with enormous flocks. He claimed to have 700 cities or fortresses;

Fig. 7.11 Kütahya: walls

Fig. 7.12 Kütahya citadel [60]

and could put into the field 200,000 horse, foot, lancers, and archers, all well supplied, well-armed with Damascus steel. He had innumerable flocks and the fastest horses.

The emperor of Constantinople pays a tribute of 100,000 gold coin of Constantinople plus magnificent presents.

The ruler of Germiyan constantly inspects his troops, prepares for war. He has a grand court: emirs, vezirs, kadis, secretaries, courtiers, and pages; he has treasures, stables, kitchens, and palaces—the pomp and luxury suitable for a sultan.

Among his dependencies is the city Gümüs şehir, a rich mine better than the Mongol; also an alum mine which brings great wealth, and a city Sivrikoy (?) which produces only rice.

The inhabitants don't always make distinction between what is allowed and what not; they shed blood with indifference; their swords are covered with the blood of enemies, their arrows pour onto adversaries.

Western

Pegolotti 43, 193, 369f: Kütahya was a major source of good quality alum, which was exported through Theologos, but also through Palatia.

Coins

Coins give little hint of the wealth and power of Germiyan: Yaqub I (c.1300–1340) struck one type of akce, apparently late in his reign, while Mehmet (1340–1361) produced five types. None are dated; only one names a mint which may possibly be read Simav.[58] All are very rare.

Apparently no inscriptions have survived from this period.

By all accounts—except those of the Ottomans and their admirer Ibn Battuta—Germiyan was and had long been the most powerful of these states. It had a strategic location, broad and rich lands, and derived considerable wealth from its mines of silver and alum. Its large and well-trained army allowed it to exercise a dominating influence over the other emirates who, however reluctantly, recognized its superiority. Although it was landlocked, Germiyan had relations with Byzantium and received a large tribute (which the Byzantine sources don't mention). Its power and location made it a desirable ally for Christian powers harassed by the maritime emirates: in 1332 Venice was seriously considering such an alliance. In 1341, Cantacuzene made an agreement with "Aliseres the satrap of Kotyaion" by which Byzantium and Germiyan would jointly attack Saruhan.[59]

The sources only hint at the source of Germiyan's authority but Balban's cryptic remark that it was closest to the lands of the Mongols may suggest

that it had Mongol backing and may even have been an agent of Ilkhanid rule. None of this made Germiyan popular: they were widely feared and hated as expressed in the warning Ibn Battuta received from his host the emir of Gölhisar (in the lands of Hamid) against the bandits called "al-Jarmiyan."

Ottoman

For Ibn Battuta (449–460) Bursa was an important city, with fine bazaars, wide streets, and hot springs (Fig. 7.13). Its sultan "Urhkan Bak son of Othman Jik" was the greatest king of the Turkmen, the richest in wealth, land, and military forces. Orhan had nearly 100 forts which he frequently traveled to inspect. He constantly fought with the infidel, keeping them under siege. His father had captured Bursa from the Greeks and besieged Yaznik for 20 years, dying before it was taken; Orhan besieged it for another 12 years.[60]

He traveled to Yaznik (with an intermediate overnight stop at Kurluh) through fertile country. The city, surrounded by water and approached over a viaduct, was in moldering condition, uninhabited except for a few men in the sultan's service under the command of his wife Bayalun Khatun. It was surrounded by four walls, with orchards and fields within.

Fig. 7.13 Bursa, Orhan's capital

His stages on the road east reveal the extent of Orhan's land: Makaja, the Sangarius ford, Kawiya, Yanija a large fine township, Kainuk a small town inhabited by Greeks, with no trees or vines, only saffron, Muturni, Buli. These were all under Ottoman control, showing that their domain stretched far east of the Sangarius into Paphlagonia.

Al-Uryan (22/339f.) reported that the "principality of Orhan son of Osman" maintained 25,000 horses. His lands bordered the strait of Constantinople with whose ruler he was constantly at war. Since Orhan usually won, he was considered the most dangerous enemy of the Greek emperor who paid him a monthly tribute.[61] On one occasion, his forces crossed by sea and ravaged the Christian lands.

According to Balban (421f./364f.) the ruler "Orhan son of Taman," had his capital at Bursa. He had 50 cities and even more fortresses, with 40,000 horses and innumerable foot. But his troops were not very warlike, more impressive in appearance than in reality. He was peaceful toward his neighbors, very inclined to help his allies, but constantly at war with his numerous enemies. His subjects were ill-intentioned toward him; his neighbors lived in open hostility. The population was treacherous, full of hate and evil thoughts. The land had 300 hot springs which cured a range of diseases.

(For Orhan's coins, inscriptions, and documents, see Chapter 4.)

Unlike the maritime emirates, the Ottomans were not yet a naval power. Orhan in the 1330s had only 36 light ships suitable for raiding but not for any major expeditions.[62] Nevertheless, all the contemporaries agree that Orhan was one of the great powers of the day. Ibn Battuta accurately perceived him to be the "greatest king of the Turkmen" while the anti-Ottoman Balban was not impressed, believing that Karesi was stronger than its Ottoman neighbor. Orhan led the fight against Byzantium and in this decade completed his conquest of Bithynia with the capture of Nicaea in 1331 and Nicomedia in 1337. Unlike the others, he conquered territory and held it, constantly increasing his power base.

The documentary record shows that the Ottomans, beginning with Orhan's conquest of maritime Bithynia in the 1330s, exploited their new territories to provide endowments for the buildings that established an Ottoman presence in the cities by means of buildings and institutions typical of Islam—mosque, medrese, imaret, covered market—that at the same time advertised their wealth and power.[63]

Göynük Hisar

al-Uryan (22/340) reports this small state as belonging to "Amer-Djakou" who had 3,000 horses.

When Ibn Battuta passed through, it was under Ottoman rule. The name of its emir indicates a Mongol origin, but nothing further is known.[64]

Gerede

For Ibn Battuta (460f.): Garadai Buli was a large fine city, with spacious streets, bazaars, and separate quarters for each community. Its ruler, Shah Bak, was of the "middling class of sultans in this country."

Al-Uryan (22/340): names the ruler of "Gerdeleh" as Shahin; he had 3,000 horses.

Sultanönü

Mentioned only by Balban (32/350) apropos of the conquering expedition of Timurtash in 1326: located between the lands of Suleiman Pasha and Germiyan, it had no walled cities but large towns and vast plains.[65]

These small states somehow survived among their more powerful neighbors who were destined to swallow them up. That was evidently the case of Göynük on the route that led east from Geyve and some sixty-five kilometers from the Sangarius. Al-Uryan seems to have caught it at the last moment of independence, for when Ibn Battuta passed through, it was in Ottoman hands as were Mudurnu and Bolu, the next stages on the route east. Nothing further is known.

Gerede, about one hundred and forty kilometers east of Göynük at an important road junction, seems to have been sizable and prosperous and the seat of an independent small emirate, recorded as paying tax to the Mongols in the 1330s. It was the neighbor of the Candaroğulları who may have taken it by the 1340s, according to the evidence of a unique coin struck there in a year ending in –4, presumably 744 (1343).[66] The Ottomans in turn conquered it in 1354 from the "eastern Scythians," that is, the Eretnids.[67] Cantacuzene, the source for this event, describes Gerede as one of the most

prominent towns of the Scythians. In any case, it was still independent and prosperous in the 1330s, though squeezed between Ottomans and Candaroğullari.

As for Sultan Önü, an object of Osman's attention, it lay between Ottoman and Germiyan lands, perhaps surviving through the protection of the latter.

"Qawiya"

It is hard to know what to make of "Qawiya" attested only by Balban (41/363f.), who names its ruler as Murad al-Din Hamza.

It lay west of Samsun, north of the land of Suleyman Pasha (Katamonu) and had the Kasis mountain on its west. Most of the travelers and merchants of Egypt and Syria passed through Murad's territories on their way to the Black Sea. Its capital was "Qawiya," whose prince possessed 10 cities and 10 forts and had a force of 7,000 horses and 7,000 feet, but for a campaign he could put together a much larger force. His enemies don't dare attack him. The population was peaceful, with great affection for its rulers.

Mention of Samsun and the Black Sea suggest a location far to the east, but note that Balban defines Ottoman lands as east of Murad, west of Samsun and Sinope, with Mt Kasis as its western limit. In other words, this Qawiya was an immediate neighbor of the Ottomans. This might suggest a location in western Paphlagonia, which already contained the small states of Göynük and Gerede between Ottoman territories and those of Kastamonu. But this Qawiya is something larger, with a respectable armed force.

"Qawiya" could also be read as Geyve, a well-known place on the Sangarius, but this lay well within the Ottoman lands. Balban sometimes lists as two separate states family regimes where brothers rule separate parts, so might a province of Geyve be such a case? Not likely since no Murad al-din Hamza is known in the Ottoman family.

On the other hand, a certain Murad beg ruled the city of "Bura" under Ibrahim of Kastamonu, of whose family he was presumably a member. The mystery remains.

Kastamonu

Ibn Battuta (461–468) began his visit at Burlu (Safranbolu), a small town with a citadel on a steep hill; its amir was Ali Bak son of Suleyman padshah king of Qastamuniya which is one of the largest and finest cities (Fig. 7.14).

Fig. 7.14 Kastamonu: city center, with citadel in background

He praised the hospice at Taşköprü. The village had been dedicated for its endowment while the bazaar was the endowment for the congregational mosque, with generous provision for pilgrims.

For him, Sanub was a superb city surrounded by the sea, with only one gate for which permission was required from the governor Ibrahim Bey son of Suleyman Bey. On the hill were eleven villages of Greeks under the Muslims, a hermitage, and a hospice with food for travelers. Ibn Battuta described the city's beautiful congregational mosque built by the Pervane, who was succeeded by his son Gazi Çelebi, and then by sultan Suleyman. Gazi Çelebi was famed as a frogman and for capturing an entire enemy fleet. The locals, especially army officers, made much use of hashish.

Al-Uryan 23/340f.: Kastamonu was ruled by Ibrahim son of Suleyman; it had an army of 30,000 horses or even more, and many fortresses and cities, the most famous Sinope where an amir Gazi Çelebi rules for the prince; also, the city of "Bura" governed by Murat beg. The prince had friendly relations with the rulers of Egypt and maintained correspondence with them. The country is famous for its excellent horses, which fetch enormous prices among the Arabs.

Balban 39f./361f.: It was ruled by Ibrahim son of Suleyman, who had governed Sinope on the shore of the Black Sea, frequented by ships going to Kipchak, Khazars, Rus, and Bulgars. Its capital is Kastamonu. Its sovereign has forty important cities and fortresses and 25,000 horses of excellent

quality. He maintains friendly relations with the sultan of Egypt, constantly exchanging ambassadors and gifts; he receives much help against his enemies. At present he is under the authority of Melik Nasr, and serves as auxiliary in his forces.

After their acquisition of Sinope in 1324, the Candaroğulları became much richer and more important, for that heavily fortified city had long been established as a major port for the lucrative trade across the Black Sea. Business, as usual, accompanied piracy. In 1340, for example, a small fleet from Sinope captured Genoese and Venetian ships and were about to attack another convoy when a Genoese admiral arrived on the scene, put together an armed fleet, defeated the Turks, seized their lot, and executed their crews.[68] Nevertheless, Sinope remained a major port for international trade.

The emirate's wealth is reflected in its coinage, the most abundant of these beyliks. The issues of Suleyman Pasha (1309–c.1340) in the 1320s are the most common, all struck in the name of the ruling Ilkhan, mostly of distinctive types peculiar to this region.[69] Surprisingly, though, he also maintained close relations with the Mongols' bitterest enemy, the Mamlukes. The trade was evidently so important that it enabled him to pursue an independent policy, perhaps playing his suzerains off against each other. Unfortunately, the history of the emirate in this period is very poorly known. Suleyman's successors Ibrahim bey (c.1340–1345) and Adil bey (c.1345–1357) struck coins in the name of the Ilkhan Abu Sa`id, then of Eretna, and anonymously in the 740s.

The Mongols

A unique accounting manual from the Ilkhanid period provides a conspectus of the taxes and tribute paid by the various components of the empire. After listing the revenues from Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan and Georgia, the text mentions the "central lands" (*al-wastaniyya*), the cities of Anatolia, of which the westernmost are Ankara, Akşehir, Sivrihisar, and Qara Hisar.[70] The frontier lands (*ucat*) follow: Qaraman, awlad Hamid, Tughuzlu, Umurbeg, Germiyan, Urkhan, Geredeboli, Kastamuniya, Akridur, and Sinub.[71] These are in geographical order except for Akridur, which is redundant and out of place. Akridur was the capital of Hamid and then better known as Felekabad.[72] Sinop, though in correct geographical order, is another anomaly, for it was conquered by Kastamonu in 1324.

This frontier region stretches from the Mediterranean (Karaman) around to the Black Sea (Sinope) and bears comparison with the emirates brought

into submission by emir Choban in 1315. Both comprise the Turcoman emirates that were contiguous to the Mongol lands, but with significant additions: Karaman, usually hostile to the Ilkhans, now appears as do two states previously beyond the reach of the Ilkhans, listed here by the name of their emirs, Umur bey of Aydın and Orhan the Ottoman. This is the first and only record of Orhan paying tribute to a Mongol overlord. Naturally, it would be important to determine the date of this document, which is nowhere stated. It was presumably written when Umur had achieved fame and wealth, probably between his conquest of Izmir in 1329 and his death in 1348. Likewise, a date after 1326 when Orhan conquered his first major city, Bursa, would be appropriate. On a larger scale, the work provides a view of the empire at a time when it was still intact, so before the death of Abu Sa`id in 1335. The most probable date, then, would be the early 1330s.[73]

A Western source, written around 1332 confirms the general picture of tribute to the Mongols: *Turchi imperatori Tartarorum Persidis [the Ilkhan] serviunt sub tributo, videtur quod Tartari deberent ipsos Turchos tanquam suos contra nostros defendere*.[74]

Meanwhile, Timurtash had resumed war against the Turcomans, now on a vaster scale. In 1326, he took Beyşehir, capital of the Eşrefoğlu, executing its bey and bringing the emirate to an end. He conquered the states of' "Aghizlu" with its important silver mines, "Tugancik" west of Trebizond and Kirshehir. Ibn Sahib, the emir of Karahisar, saved himself and his domain by taking refuge with Germiyan whose dependent he became.[75] Farther west, Timurtash took Sultan Önü and came to Philadelphia where, perhaps in alliance with the Byzantine emperor, he forced Germiyan and Aydın to abandon their attacks on the city.[76] For a moment, Mongol power in Anatolia was at its height, its domains as great as those of the Seljuks. But it was probably at Philadelphia that Timurtash received the news of the fall of his family. He decamped to Kayseri and from there took refuge in Egypt where the Mamluke sultan eventually had him executed. After the fall of the Chobanids, the Turcoman emirates regained their independence. Timurtash's conquests were ephemeral but, for the moment, the Turcomans were unable to gain any territory from the Mongols, whose domain however was on the brink of collapse.

The Turcoman Emirates

The rare abundance of contemporary sources provides considerable insight into the nature and activities of these Turcomans. It shows first that the

confederations of nomadic tribes at the beginning of the century had in a generation evolved into settled sophisticated states. High Islamic civilization was everywhere evident in the presence of scholars, doctors of the law and Koran readers who provided the rulers' favorite entertainment. They were rich, with luxurious palaces (Germiyan and Aydın), grand mosques (Menteşe and Aydın) and entirely new capital cities (Menteşe, Karesi, Ottoman). They were players on the international stage, having relations with the Italian maritime states, Byzantium, the Mamluks of Egypt, and the Golden Horde north of the Black Sea.

These relations included the major sources of their wealth: trade and the raiding which brought booty and tribute. The maritime emirates and Kastamonu profited especially from trade, but Menteşe and Aydın extracted tribute from the Greek islands as the Ottomans did from Byzantium. Bribes from the Byzantines to keep the peace or form alliances, and service as mercenaries provided more ready cash.

All the states that had frontiers with Christian lands or were in easy reach of them by sea practiced jihad but its aim was not religious but economic, with justified wars against the infidel being a major source of revenue. Despite their impressive and sometimes spectacular successes in war, the beyliks suffered some setbacks when their opponents united. Constant attacks—especially by Aydın—in the 1320s provoked a kind of mini-crusade which in 1334 achieved a major victory, destroying the large fleet commanded by Yahşi of Pergamum. The treaty Aydın signed in 1337 reflected its temporary weakness.

The beyliks differed in wealth and power: Menteşe, Aydın, and apparently Kastamonu were the richest while Germiyan, Aydın, and the Ottomans were the great powers of the day.

Most of these states were family operations, with the head of the family based in the capital city and sons or brothers as governors of cities or provinces. The most impressive example was Aydın, ruled by four brothers under the suzerainty first of their father then of the eldest brother. For them, division was not a source of weakness, for the family constantly cooperated. Menteşe, Saruhan, Karesi, and Kastamonu had similar systems; the Ottomans alone had only one leader (the situation in Germiyan is unclear).

In the 1330s, Aydın, thanks to the exploits of Umur Bey would have seemed to be the leader among these states, though Germiyan was recognized as the most powerful. Ibn Battuta was alone in appreciating the strength and potential of the Ottomans whose conquest of Nicaea and Nicomedia in this decade completed their control of rich and strategic Bithynia, laying the foundations for an ever more powerful (and unified) state.

Notes

1. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, vol. II. Cambridge 1962.
2. Edited by Franz Taeschner: *Al-Umari's Bericht uber Anatolien in seinem Werke Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar*, Leipzig 1929. Translated by M. Quatremere in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliotheque du roi* 13, 1838, 151–381.
3. *Le destan d'Umur Pacha*, ed. and tr. Irene Melikoff-Sayar. Paris 1954.
4. Texts and thorough commentary in Zachariadou 1983.
5. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans. Cambridge MA 1936.
6. This section is basically a collection of raw material—a snapshot of a period—which does not lend itself to being woven into a coherent narrative because of the disparity of information about the various states.
7. I have omitted a few emirates that are not directly relevant to the present subject. The accounts also present much information about weights, measures and prices which is not included here.
8. Described by Balban in al-Umari 32/350 (in this system of reference the first number denotes the Taeschner edition, the second the Quatrmere translation), but not included in his list of these emirates.
9. Text in Wittek 1934, 135ff.; RCEA 15, 5622.
10. See Vryonis 1971, 396–401; cf. "Ahi" by Fr. Taeschner.
11. Wittek 1934, 155.
12. "Fuka" of the text corrected to Mughla by Wittek 1934, 69.
13. Zachariadou 1983, 18–20, text 187–9.
14. Ibid. 159–73.
15. Ibid. 35f., text 195–200; f. 110 for the subordinate rulers.
16. Ibid. 60ff., text 217f.
17. Ibn Battuta 428.
18. Al-Umari 359.
19. Pegolotti 92, 104, 369.
20. Wittek 1934, 134–137; RCEA 14, 5591, 15, 5622.
21. The readings of Orkhan's sole published coin (Ender 2000, 175) are quite uncertain.
22. See Foss 2019, with further references.
23. Zachariadou 1983, 22, 27.
24. This may be an exaggerated reflection of Aydın's now hostile relations with Menteşe: Zachariadou 1983, 27.
25. Foss 1979, 149.
26. Pegolotti 43, 55f., 104, 369.
27. Pegolotti 57, 92, 104.
28. Zachariadou 1983, 36, text 190–4.
29. RCEA 15, 5657, 15, 5783, 5784.

30. For the date and circumstances, see Lemerle 1957, 28–39; Hızır may have received his territories before 1326.
31. Ender 2000, 173f.
32. See Grousset 1970, 254.
33. Spuler 1955, 337.
34. For the location, at modern Bademye in the southern side of the Cayster valley opposite Birgi, see Lemerle 1957, 35.
35. Lemerle 1957, 37.
36. RCEA 5657, discussed in chapter 4: "alamir alkebir almujahid almurabit abu alkhairat sultan alghazat mubariz aldawla wal din."
37. For what follows, see Lemerle 1957, 75–143 based on the *Destan*.
38. For Umur's various attacks on Thrace, Greece, and the islands, see Lemerle 1957, 62–88, 102–15. After his meetings with Cantacuzene and Andronicus III in 1335, his efforts were directed against the Franks of Greece and Thrace, not against Byzantine lands: Lemerle 1957, 116–79.
39. For the numbers and types of vessels, see Inalcık 1985, 205, 207f.
40. Inalcik 1985, 209–17 provides a useful analysis of Umur's forces and motives.
41. *Destan* 97–1032, on which see Lemerle 1957, 105–15.
42. *Destan* 1033–84.
43. Pegolotti 289.
44. Uzunçarşılı 84–91.
45. Reported only in the *Destan*: Lemerle 1957, 63–74.
46. Lemerle 1957, 102–1115; cf Zachariadou 38f.
47. Cantacuzene II.65f., 77 ; Lemerle 1957, 148 n. 2.
48. The title also appears on their coins: Ender 2000, 23–7.
49. "Marmara" presumably represents the name of the sea of Marmora, indicating that Yahsi's emirate comprised the maritme parts of Karesi, which would accord with other indications of the sources.
50. Pegolotti 43, 243, 369.
51. See above, p. 122.
52. His coins identify him as "son of Timur," i.e., of Temirhan: Ender 2000, 24.
53. Lemerle 1957, 96–9.
54. Gregoras I.538.
55. See Ender 2000, 23 (Demirhan, 1327–35), 24 (Suleyman), 25–7 (Yahsi 1327–43), and 28–35 (Beylerbeyi Celebi, 1343–?).
56. See Zhukov 1993.
57. Kafadar 1995, 116f.
58. Yaqub I: Ender 2005, 26f.; Mehmet: ibid., 30–7; Simav: ibid., 37.
59. Cantacuzene I.82; Zachariadou 1983, 28f. This was doubtless the occssion (or one of many) for Byzanium paying a heavy bribe to Germyan.
60. See the Appendix to chapter 6.

61. See pp. 124, 126f, for the bribes paid to keep Orhan from attacking the region of Nicomedia. The emperor paid an even larger tribute to the ruler of Germiyan: see p. 209.
62. Cantacuzene I.505; Gregoras I.540; Zachariadou 64.
63. Beldiceanu 2000.
64. Toğan 1970, 318f.
65. See see above, p. 43.
66. Ender 2003, 53. The coin is anonymous, atributable by its style to the Candarogullari
67. Cantacuzene III.284. The "Scythians" who lost Ankara in the same campaign, were presumably the Eretnids, dominant in central Asia Minor at this time.
68. Heyd 1885, 552.
69. See Diler 2006, 476–80.
70. *Risale-i Felekiyye* 93a–93b.
71. Ibid., 93b.
72. Coins name Akridur in 699 and Felekabad from 707 (Izmirlier 1999, 109–113); but Ibn Battuta 422 consistently refers to Akridur.
73. Remler 1985, 163f. suggests a date of c.1327.
74. Brocardus 503.
75. Balban in al-Umari 350; the names of these states have not been resolved. Karahisar: ibid., 357.
76. Beldiceanu 1984, 22–9.

8
The Aftermath

The Turning Points

The decade of the 1340s saw a definitive shift in the balance of power among the emirates. At the beginning, Aydin occupies center stage thanks to the spectacular exploits of Umur, but ten years later, the Ottomans have become the leading state. Sources for the 1340s are much poorer than those of the preceding decade, leaving some states in complete obscurity but revealing three events that held major significance for the future: the marriage of Osman with the daughter of Cantacuzene in 1346; the death of Umur in 1348; and the Ottoman conquest of Karesi, apparently in 1349.

Menteşe appears to have passed the decade in peaceful prosperity by remaining neutral in the wars in the Aegean and maintaining its trading networks. Monumental construction continued, as attested by an inscription (1344) of Orkhan's son Ibrahim (c.1340–1360) on a mosque in Mughla.[1]

Aydın attracted the most attention thanks to Umur and the reaction he stirred. His devastating attacks on Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece caused considerable loss of population and provoked the western powers, urged on by the pope, to create the *Sancta Unio* which captured the harbor fortress of Smyrna in November 1344. It came to dominate the sea, destroying the fleet of Aydın and Saruhan in 1347, but failed to win any victories inland. This led to negotiations that made progress after Umur was killed in April 1348. The truce signed in August 1348 showed Aydın's weakness: it provided for free trade, sharing customs revenue, and putting Aydın's fleet in dry dock. Aydın agreed to end attacks on Christians and undertook to protect them from pirates of other emirates.[2] The western advantage did not last long, however, for the treaty made in April 1353 ended ten years of hostility between Aydın—represented by Hızır and his brothers—and the Christian powers. It dealt with trade and taxes and was far less unfavorable to Aydın.[3] By then, Hızır had sought a counterbalance to Venetian influence in the region by entering into friendly relations with Genoa which established a consulate in Altoluogo soon after 1348. This naturally led to disturbed

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relations with Venice, until a settlement was worked out in 1358.[4] The emirate recovered as western unity broke down, but, although Aydın could still fight, it never regained the strength and prestige it had had while Umur was alive.

Philadelphia

A Christian island in a Muslim sea, Philadelphia survived a remarkably long time, but constantly under threat. It may also have lost some of its lands, for an inscription of his great-grandson claims that Mehmet bey of Germiyan (1340–1361) conquered Guldi from the infidel. Guldi lies in the volcanic hill country some forty kilometers north of Philadelphia and was probably one of its outposts.[5] In any case, Philadelphia was paying tribute, presumably to Germiyan, in 1342.[6]

The city itself barely survived a determined attack in March 1348 by Umur of Aydin together with his brothers—despite the friendship he had established with Cantacuzene. The Turks even gained a part of the fortifications, but were pushed back. In the agreement that he made, Umur promised to leave the city in peace and left for Smyrna where he had to deal with the Latins who occupied the maritime fort. He planned to renew the attack on Philadelphia, but was killed in the fighting at Smyrna.[7]

Finally, in 1352, the Philadelphians, despairing of any hope from the ever-weakening empire, sent a delegation to the pope in far-off Avignon. They offered to submit their city permanently to papal authority. The pope eventually gave an unhelpful reply that they should abandon schismatic Orthodoxy and recognize the supremacy of the Roman church, adding that the flames of hell were worse than anything the Turks could inflict.[8]

Despite the lack of support from outside, the enclave of Philadelphia managed somehow to survive: an ecclesiastical document of 1369 described the "holy metropolis of Philadelphia" as "preserved untaken till now, never forced to bend its neck to any of the nations."[9] It survived until 1390 when it succumbed to the Ottoman sultan Beyazit the Thunderbolt who conquered the emirates as well.[10]

Saruhan

In 1345, the emir's son together with the Suleyman of Karesi and Umur of Aydin ravaged Thrace, this after Umur and Saruhan had resolved a territorial dispute. Since Umur had lost control of the harbor of Smyrna, he could

only send his forces to the Hellespont by crossing Saruhan's lands. By making a territorial concession, Umur established friendly relations with Saruhan whose emir allowed his son to join the expedition.[11] Also in 1345, the rebel Vatatzes had requested help from Saruhan, but met with a refusal.[12] Finally, in 1347, Saruhan joined Aydın in putting together a fleet of 118 small vessels, only to be destroyed by crusaders off the island of Imbros.[13]

Karesi

In 1341 and 1345 Yahsi attacked Christian lands together with Saruhan; its contingent in the second expedition led by Temirhan's son Suleiman. The first was badly defeated; the second inflicted real damage on Thrace.[14] In 1345, During the civil war between Cantacuzene and the dowager empress Anna, a certain John Vatatzes, thanks to a close alliance with Suleyman, "satrap of Troy" who had married his daughter, had no trouble attacking Thrace for the empress; but the Turks, who had had established good relations with Cantacuzene, soon switched sides and killed Vatatzes.[15] Likewise, when the *panhypersebastos* Isaac Asan, a partisan of the empress, sought help from Suleyman against Cantacuzene, his large bribe was refused and when a subsequent official arrived on the same mission he was shown the door.[16]

This the last appearance of Karesi in a Byzantine source; the Ottoman version is very different. Aşıkpaşazade (APZ) begins by mentioning "Aclan bey" son of Karesi who has two sons "Dursun bey" and "Haci İlbeg." Dursun, who takes refuge with Orhan, proposes to turn Balıkesir, Bergama and Edremit over to him, retaining only two small places on the coast west of Edremit—divisions that correspond to no known Karesi reality. Nor is it obvious how the names of the rulers can be reconciled with those known from other sources (though see next). Note that Byzantine sources make no mention at all of the fall of Karesi, though it was Orhan's acquisition of this coast that made the momentous crossing into Europe possible. An early Ottoman source, the *Chronological List of 1421*, dates the conquest of Karesi to AH 749 (=1348/9).[17] Although this seems plausible, the circumstances remain totally obscure.

Germiyan

Although Balban mentions Germiyan as taking territory from its neighbors there is little evidence of major expansion. Only a very long and detailed

inscription of 1411, known as the *taş vakfiye* or "stone endowment" gives an example. In it, the current ruler of Germiyan records that his great-grandfather Mehmet bey (1340–1361) took Guldi and the lake of Simav from the infidel.[18]

Although Guldi may have been in the territory of Philadelphia, lake Simav is in Phrygia, much farther to the north.[19] It is hard to imagine any infidel power that could have held Simav at this time. Most probably, Germiyan took Simav from Karesi, but didn't want to flaunt a conquest from a fellow-Muslim. Curiously, the only coin of Mehmet that bears a mintmark was apparently struck in Simav.[20] On the other hand, taking land from Philadelphia was consistent with the attacks that Germiyan had been making since at least 1304.[21]

Ottoman

With their capture of Nicomedia in 1338, the Ottomans completed their conquest of Bithynia and established themselves as a major power with an urban base and posing a greater threat than ever to the declining Byzantine empire. Their aggression was now directed westward. They made no move to the east, where the small emirate of Gerede continued to exist, nor to the south where they faced Germiyan. Their advance was directed not against Byzantium, but the neighboring emirate of Karesi which they conquered under obscure circumstances by the end of the decade. This completely transformed the balance of power in western Asia Minor, where Orhan now controlled a vast region from the Sangarius to the Aegean, with the coasts of the Marmora and the Dardanelles. No other emirate had such potential or strategic location, especially once Umur was removed from the scene. Byzantium was quick to recognize the situation. John Cantacuzene, who had been proclaimed emperor in 1341 but still had to finish a civil war to gain complete supremacy, had no doubt of Orhan's dominance among the emirates. Therefore, when a request arrived from Orhan for the hand of his daughter in marriage, he agreed and in 1346, a Turkish emir became son-in-law of a Byzantine emperor. The alliance thus formed made it natural for Cantacuzene to bring an Ottoman force across the Dardanelles to Europe, with earth-shaking consequences.

Kastamonu

The Candaroğulları remained active in international trade: the Genoese had a consulate at Sinope by 1351 as did the Venetians at an uncertain date.[22] But their history is poorly known. In the 1340s the emirate struck coins in the name of Eretna or anonymously from Sinope, Kastamonu, Burghulu, and possibly Bolu and Gerede.[23] The unique coin of Gerede, discussed earlier, may indicate that their territories had expanded to the west, making them a direct neighbor of the Ottomans.

The Mongols

When Abu Sa`id died in 1335 without an heir, the Ilkhanate sank into civil wars that resulted in Anatolia breaking away to form an independent state called the Eretnid after its founder.

Alaeddin Eretna rose as a follower of Timurtash who made him governor of Anatolia. Ibn Battuta, who met him in Sivas, called him "the lieutenant of the king of Iraq in the land of Rum," noting that he spoke educated Arabic, and was generous. One of his wives resided at Kayseri, the state's main military base, while a deputy administered Aksaray. At this time Sivas was the largest city of Anatolia and base of the civil government, while the army headquarters was Kayseri. The Ilkhanids ruled from Baghdad and Soltaniyeh in Azerbaijan, and from the *mahalle*, their vast traveling camp.[24]

At the death of Abu Sa'id, Hasan Bozorg ("Big Hasan" head of the Mongol Jelayrid tribe), the governor of Anatolia, defeated his rivals, and promoted Eretna to be governor. These years were marked by the factional rivalries that ultimately destroyed the integrity of the Ilkhanid state. In 1338 Kuchek ("Little") Hasan the son of Timurtash, defeated Hasan Bozorg, installed Sulayman as Ilkhan, and struck coins in his name from 739 to 746. Eretna exploited the factional divisions, but when Hasan Kuchek started to move into Anatolia, Eretna appealed to the Mamluke sultan Nasir who confirmed him as governor of Anatolia. He struck coins from his capital Sivas in name of Nasir 739–741.[25] In 1343 he solidified his independence by defeating his greatest rivals Hasan Kuchek and Suleyman at Karanbük. Eretna's abundant coinage, struck in mints throughout Anatolia from Erzurum to Ankara in

742–753/1343–1352, reflect his domination of Anatolia, independent of the Ilkhanids. They are all anonymous but bear the title *Sultan Adil* in Uighur.[26] The history of his state is very poorly known. Eretna was aware of events in western Anatolia but unable to influence them. In 1344, when news arrived of the capture of the harbor of Smyrna by the crusaders, he sent not an army but two engineers skilled in making catapults.[27]

Eretna had a reputation for justice and piety. His death in 1352 was followed by another period of factional/dynastic wars, which permanently drained the power of the state.

Notes

1. Wittek 1934, 137f.; RCEA 15, 5983.
2. Zachariadou 1983, 55f.
3. Ibid. 54–60; text 211–16.
4. Foss 1979, 154f.
5. The extent of Philadelphia's territory is unknown; only the mention of Fort St. Nicholas indicates that it extended to the headwaters of the Cogamis which flowed through Philadelphia and eventually into the Hermus.
6. Miklosich and Muller I p. 228; for the meaning of the term employed, *verimion*, see Zachariadou 1983, 24.
7. Lemerle 1984, 55–67, quoting a Greek text that gives considerable detail about the fortifications.
8. Schreiner 1969, 401f.
9. Text and translation: Foss 1976, 125–8.
10. Schreiner 1969, 404–11.
11. Cantacuzene II.529f.; Lemerle 1957, 204–17.
12. Cantacuzene II.553; Lemerle 1957, 219f.
13. Zachariadou 53.
14. Cantacuzene II.65–70, 77, II.529–34; cf. Lemerle 1957, 148n.2, 204.
15. Lemerle 1957, 219f., who deals with contradictions in the sources.
16. Cantacuzene II.507.
17. *Osmanlı Tarihine Ait Takvimler*, ed. C. N. Atsız (Istanbul 1961) 24f., no. 136. Note that this calendar gives the correct dates for the conquest of Bursa and of Iznik.
18. Varlık 147, lines 5, 6; available online in transcription: https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taş_Vakfiye
19. Foss 1985, 100–2.
20. Ender 2005, 37; the reading is uncertain.
21. See 177f.

22. Heyd 1885, 552.
23. Ender 2003, 50–84.
24. Ibn Battuta 335–44.
25. Perk and Öztürk nos. 456–9.
26. Perk and Öztürk 191–276.
27. *Destan* 2091f.

9
Final Thoughts

This concluding section is deliberately not called "Conclusions" because it is not yet possible to close the book on the earliest Ottomans: too many pages are missing. Knowledge of Osman's career depends on a very dubious tradition: you can take it or leave it or—much more often—pick and choose the bits that seem to make sense. Osman bursts on the international scene in 1302 and has five years of attack, leading his faithful nomads/powerful army against the heavily fortified bastions of Byzantium. He is on the verge of spectacular success when he's struck down by the Boss—the Ilkhan—and drops out of history. When the curtain rises almost twenty years later, the same scenes are there; nothing has been moved but Orhan, who will almost become a three-dimensional character, moves inexorably to victory, capturing the Bithynian cities one by one in a decade. Yet he has inherited something from his shadowy father: a sophisticated Islamic apparatus which puts him on a par with the other Anatolian emirs. Before we lose sight of him as he crosses to Europe, he has left his neighbors behind and is in the forefront of conquest from the now feeble infidel empire and its neighbors and allies. The problems of reconstructing the beginnings of this history are so great that the leading English scholar of these years has issued a firm and plausible warning:

> The best thing a modern historian can do is to admit frankly that the earliest history of the Ottomans is a black hole.[1]

Black hole indeed, but occasional glimmers of light manage to escape, as I hope these chapters have shown.

Investigation of the Ottoman Homeland presents a real landscape and confirms the existence of virtually all the places mentioned by APZ. They are not only in the right place but at the right time, for most of them have remains dating from the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, notably the network of fortresses built by the Byzantine Lascarids. The authors of the tradition knew the country very well, for their work gives occasional details that would only be known to someone familiar with the region.

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The Homeland is a rough country of narrow valleys and low, often steep mountains, a transitional area between the central Anatolian plateau and the rich maritime region to the north. Unlike those, it had no ancient cities but was until modern times marked by small settlements of limited resources. It was not ideally suited to the large flocks of nomads but had the advantage of lying on important routes that connected the coastal region with the interior, making trade and predation possible economic activities.

The narrow valleys and steep hills of the Homeland precluded pastoralism on the Ilkhanid scale which demanded large open plains for their vast flocks and herds, as Osman's grandfather Suleyman is reputed to have said after spending some years in Anatolia: "the mountains and valleys of Rum caused them damage, for the nomads' sheep suffered from the valleys and the peaks."[2] Nevertheless, the tradition has Ertuğrul and his 400 tents making their unceasing migrations between summer and winter pastures.

The Ottomans were certainly practicing transhumance in Orhan's time, for the governor of Mesothynia warned the emperor before the battle of Pelekanon to attack the Turks before they withdrew to higher ground in their annual migration.[3] Likewise the emir of Aydın had gone up to the cool mountains when Ibn Battuta arrived.[4] Some, at least, of the Turks beyond the Sangarius were evidently nomads, for Michael Palaeologus in 1281 found only their abandoned campsites and in 1302 Ales Amourios requested land from the emperor where he could settle his forces permanently—implying a group constantly on the move like the tribes who were breaking though the imperial frontiers at that time.[5]

In other words, the early Ottoman polity included an element of pastoralism, but the landscape makes it unlikely that nomadism was a foundation of their state. To judge that it would be necessary to know the balance between pastoralism and agriculture, but of the latter the sources reveal nothing until the Ottomans had moved into the fertile lands of maritime Bithynia.[6]

A real environment needs to be inhabited by real people; the fact that the environment was real doesn't mean that any of the events recounted in the tradition actually happened or that the people whom they portray lived there or anywhere else. In fact, the tradition contains so much confusion, downright mistakes, or impossibilities that a careful reading leads to skepticism or rejection. It seems clear that the "information" it gives has passed through a stage of unstable oral transmission, with many edifying stories or folktales incorporated in it. Getting at the actual events and development of Osman's early career (before 1302 when corroborating Byzantine sources are available) seems impossible.

Some developments, though, seem plausible, whatever the details may have been. Ertuğrul may be no more real than Romulus but the idea that the ancestors of the Ottomans settled in Söğüt has never been open to doubt, and might as well be accepted, along with the notion that a sovereign assigned them land in a frontier district where Seljuks had faced Byzantines. That sovereign need not have been the Ala ed-din around whom legends grew. Likewise, the gradual expansion of Osman's territories toward the Byzantine north makes sense in the light of subsequent events. For whatever reason, these Turks were directing their efforts to lands held by the preeminent Christian power. In any case, they could not advance southward (even if they wanted to), for there they faced the powerful Germiyanids and smaller states which set Osman's bounds at Inönü and Eskişehir—to say nothing of the Mongols who lurked on the nearby Anatolian plateau. In general, Osman did not attack territories held by Islam (the confusing case of Karacaşehir seems impossible to resolve; traditions about it may be altogether apocryphal) The lands to the east seemed good for raiding but not conquest for they offered none of the wealth of metropolitan Bithynia, with the imposing cities of Prusa, Nicaea, and Nicomedia.

The Homeland has an unpromising characteristic: it is a narrow land with limited resources, not capable of supporting the large forces needed to take on Byzantium. For that, Osman needed support or collaboration of the kind the tradition supplies in the figures of Köse Mihal, Samsa Çavuş, and others—all of them probably mythical. Yet, he appeared, seemingly out of nowhere, with a substantial army near Nicomedia in 1302.

Significantly, Pachymeres relates that Osman was joined by forces, most probably Turcoman, from Paphlagonia and the Maeander. If they joined him, it was presumably because he had already established a reputation, most likely as a fighter against the infidel, a ghazi. There is no reason to suppose that he had recruited many from the local Christian population or that he represented a blending of Turks and Greeks. On the other hand, some defenders of the Byzantine frontier and its fortresses, disgruntled by the incompetence, avarice, or neglect of the government, did switch sides, often enough to weaken the frontier defenses.[7]

Although the tradition is plausible in general outline—Osman, starting from Söğüt, gradually conquered territory from "tekfurs," moving north from poor mountainous inner Bithynia toward the rich lands of the maritime district where he confronted powerfully fortified cities—it cannot be relied on in detail, for it is full of distortions, mistakes, and myths. They start with the original lands, where summer and winter pastures are at the same elevation and separated by hostile territory, include legendary figures

like Köse Mihal, folktales, and significant dreams. Curiously enough, they don't get better as the narrative moves into a historical period when it can be checked against other sources. The errors and inconsistencies of the tradition are striking: it includes events like the battle of Dimboz, unattested elsewhere, but omits Osman's victory at Bapheus.

In the account of Orhan's time, the tradition confuses the conquest of Iznik and Izmit and—most surprising of all—omits Pelekanon where the Turks defeated the Byzantine emperor in person. It cannot clarify the confusion attendant on Karacahisar. Even the conquest of Karesi is inconsistent with other sources. As a result, it is not possible to rely on the tradition for the origins of the Ottoman state or its development under Orhan.

On some points, though, the tradition may make a real contribution. Its accounts of relations with the sultan Ala ed-din, who supposedly granted land to Ertuğrul and rewarded Osman for his conquest of Karacahisar look very dubious. But Osman had a *laqab* or honorary name which would normally be granted by a higher authority such as the sultan. Likewise, the selection of Yenişehir as Osman's capital (attested only by the tradition) makes perfect sense. He chose a site well located for moving against the cities and trade routes of inner Bithynia. Yenişehir is only some twenty kilometers from Iznik (though on the other side of a mountain) and in striking distance of relatively easy routes to Bursa in the west and the Sangarius on the east. Establishing his new capital there would have left no doubt as to his intentions, and would account for his sudden appearance outside Nicomedia. Finally, though the figures of Köse Mihal, Samsa Çavuş, and the others may be entirely legendary, they could represent the reinforcement Osman was getting from other tribes at a time when they were swarming over the Byzantine lands when the frontiers had collapsed, a time of flexible loyalties, as Cantacuzene remarked (apropos of a slightly later period): "it is the custom among these babarians, when one of them goes on a campaign, that those of another satrapy who want to join it, are not pushed aside but received with pleasure as allies."[8]

Starting from a small, poor, mountainous, landlocked Homeland, Osman's resources were limited: he controlled no major cities, struck no coins, built no surviving mosques, set up no inscriptions, and made grants only on a small scale. Big changes came with the establishment of Yenişehir. By 1304 he had advanced down the Sangarius where he took Malagina, the dominant fortress of the region which opened for him the routes to Nicomedia, the interior, and the Black Sea. In the next two years, he was putting Nicaea and Prusa under blockade. Osman was making tremendous progress until the Mongols, called in by Byzantium, slapped him down so

effectively that he disappears from the record for close on twenty years. In defeat, he lost all his recent conquests and was pushed back to the mountains above Bursa—presumably to the Homeland, and here history leaves him. Yet, there is evidence to suggest that he made some recovery for the document endowing the hospice of Mekece in 1324 strongly implies that by that date the major roads along the Sangarius and between Nicomedia and inner Anatolia were pacified, presumably the work of Osman preparatory to renewed onslaught on the Bithynian cities where the returning light of history finds the forces of Orhan, poised for the conquests that would make the Ottoman a major regional power.

Everything changes under Orhan, to such an extent that it would seem logical to call the emerging state the Orhanian rather than the Ottoman Empire. He is hardly in power when Bursa falls to his blockade and becomes his capital; five years later it is the turn of Nicaea and seven years after that Nicomedia. Orhan is now master of the richest and most strategic part of Bithynia and the unwelcome neighbor of Byzantium. He sends raiding expeditions into the districts he doesn't control directly. He is the master of major trade routes and a strategic seacoast. He strikes coins, sets up commemorative inscriptions, and builds on such a scale that he completely transforms his new capital into a substantial Islamic city. He produces documents that show a high degree of sophistication and has scholars and Koran readers present in his court. Note that the document that attests high Islamic civilization was necessarily issued from the obscure Yenişehir, not Bursa which had not yet been conquered.

The transformation from Osman's backwoods domain into Orhan's metropolitan principate is sudden and dramatic, even more so when viewed from the 1340s that saw the emir married to the emperor's daughter and his lands stretching to the Dardanelles and the Aegean by the conquest of Karesi. Even bigger changes followed the crossing of his troops into Europe—but that is beyond the present the subject.

All this cries out for an explanation, and the past century has produced many, much like efforts to explain the Fall of Rome—and with equal success:

> 'Tis with our judgments as our watches, none
> Go just alike, yet each believes his own.[9]

The debate, which has long been raging, need not be followed in detail here since one of its participants, Heath Lowry, has produced an excellent account of its various theories; a brief summary of the most important will suffice.[10]

Herbert Adams Gibbons, an American journalist stationed in Istanbul, opened the discussion with his *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* in 1916. He proposed that the Ottomans were a new race, a blend of Turks and Christian converts, that they inherited Byzantine administrative practices, and that this amalgamation of peoples and traditions accounted for their success Although his main points find no support now, his idea that Ottoman society was in some way special can hardly be denied considering its remarkable success.

In 1924, the renowned Turkish historian Fuat Köprülü successfully showed that Ottoman institutions had an Islamic origin and in 1934 went one step further by maintaining that the Ottoman state was purely Turkish and that it represented the continuity of the Oğuz tribe, a notion that became a Turkish orthodoxy.

Two Harvard professors, William Langer and Robert Blake, in 1932 introduced a new element by stressing the importance of heterodox religious movements that made it easier for Christians to convert, and pointed out the fortunate circumstance that the Ottomans were neighbors of the ever-weakening Byzantine empire. They introduced geography, sociology, and trade into the debate.

The most controversial theory, whose discussion has dominated the debate since it was advanced in 1937, was Paul Wittek's characterization of the Ottoman as a "ghazi" state, that is, one whose raison d'être was the holy war against the infidel, a community of warriors united in their determination to advance the cause of Islam.

A potentially important contribution was made by Zeki Velidi Togan in his *Introduction to the General Turkish History* (1946) where he put the Ottomans and the Beyliks into the context of Mongol Asia Minor—and potentially important because this work has been rarely been noticed or referenced.[11] He noted the enthusiasm without fanaticism of the early Ottomans, along with the weakness of Byzantium and the significance of the Homeland's location on a major trade route.

A Greek professor, G. G. Arnakis, in 1947 produced a comprehensive account of the early Ottomans that has no rival but is rarely cited because it a written in Modern Greek. He investigated conditions in Bithynia with its disaffected population and followed the course of Ottoman expansion, confronting Greek and Turkish sources at every opportunity. He regarded intermarriage and conversion as a source of Ottoman success by increasing the available manpower and saw the Akhi brotherhoods as a factor in maintaining social stability.

Beginning in 1967, Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr published articles and monographs that revolutionized study of this field by exploiting documents from the Turkish archives. These gave her unparalleled insights into the society and economy of the early Ottomans.

Turkey's leading Ottoman historian, Halil Inalcık, in 1982 (and other publications) portrayed the Ottomans as a cosmopolitan state, incorporating many Christians into a society of Turkoman tribes often attracted by the prospect of holy war. Inalcık, like many others, holds up the figure of Köse Mihal as an example of Christian–Muslim collaboration.

A new approach inspired the 1983 work of Rudi Lindner who applied the methods of anthropology to the structure of Ottoman society, positing a tribal, inclusive image that saw nomadism as a central feature of Ottoman life. He expanded on this thesis in his 2003 monograph.

Cemal Kafadar of Harvard in 1999 took an inclusive attitude, incorporating elements of the ghazi theory with epic accounts of Turkish tribal origins, but did not advance a new general interpretation.

In 2003 Heath Lowry saw a "frontier society in flux" with a place for everyone—Muslim or Christian, free or slave—in a complex and sophisticated society, with elements of high Islam and Seljuk administrative practices. He explained *gaza* as meaning raids for loot as well as holy war.

None of these explanations has gained universal approval. It is not my intention to add to them, but simply to point out some factors that might be incorporated into the debate.

Although Lowry's seems the most plausible of these, one element is totally lacking from his exposition, and rarely stressed by any of the others. That is the Mongols, to whom this discussion will return.

Osman started with a rough unpromising homeland that no one would covet. It could not support a large population, but Osman needed manpower if he were to move successfully against Byzantium. How, then, to attract them? The prospects of loot—in this case from regions near the Byzantine capital—was no doubt a factor, as it had traditionally been for the nomadic rulers of the vast Asian steppe. In their case, war for booty was a central element of their power, necessary to justify their rule over independent tribes.[12] Yet the idea of advancing the frontiers of Islam against a rich and well-established infidel power would also have proved attractive. This does not mean that Osman's state was organized around the holy war, but simply that motives for fighting in Bithynia could have been more complex than simply loot. Islam had a long tradition of fighting the jihad, a cause embraced in Osman's time by his fellow emirs in Asia Minor, on the

frontiers of Islam. Another source of manpower was probably the product of conversion of the indigenous populations to Islam or at least intermarriage with the Turks. Several of the scholars discussed earlier favor this interpretation, for which documentary evidence has been adduced, showing that the population of Bithynia was largely Turkish by the end of the fifteenth century and perhaps already by the fourteenth.[13]

After establishing Yenişehir, Osman faced an empire in accelerating decline. Byzantium was reeling from what seems to have been a sudden collapse of its eastern frontiers where newly arrived tribes were moving around, not yet settled. Osman had real advantages. He confronted an empire that had to defend a vast area and naturally gave priority to Ionia, much richer than Bithynia; but after 1304 that effort was doomed, leaving Byzantium with only a fraction of its former Anatolian realm, already under attack from Osman. Since his main effort was directed against a Christian power, he could call on ghazis. He constantly expanded his base at the expense of Byzantium, attacking Christian lands and raiding those (as in eastern Bithynia) under Muslim rule. His administration (at least in its last years), as the Mekece vakf suggests, was sophisticated and infused with orthodox Islam; he had the manpower to attack walled cities, leaving detachments to blockade them through long years.

At the crucial time when Osman's rise began, he was fortunate in the preoccupations of greater nearby powers. Germiyan was involved in a long struggle with the Sultanate, from 1286 to 1289, just as Osman was beginning to expand. More advantageous, perhaps, were the revolts that plagued the Ilkhanids: the devastation inflicted on southwest Anatolia by Gaikhatu 1291–1292, the contemporary revolt of Paphlagonia only suppressed in 1293, revolts in 1296 and 1297, and the massive uprising of Sulemish 1298–1299. These would all have tied the hands of the Mongols, making it difficult if not impossible to control the largely autonomous tribes of the frontier, especially since the main aim of Ghazan, who restored control in Anatolia, was not the west at all, but Syria where he led unsuccessful expeditions in 1299–1301 and 1303. He was occupied with these wars just at the moment when Osman appeared on the scene. It was not until 1307 that the Mongols could turn their attention westward, with near fatal results for Osman, who had been doing very well in the meantime.

When Orhan came to power, his state was notably poorer than Aydın or Menteşe, who had numerous rich fortified cities and seaports, who profited from extensive trade with the west. That trade, supplemented by raiding and providing mercenaries, generated the wealth manifest in their grand

mosques and new or transformed capitals. Saruhan functioned the same way, though evidently on a smaller scale. Karesi was involved in the same activities and was rich enough to build a new capital. Kastamonu was thriving after the capture of Sinope and profited from the Black Sea trade. As late as the 1330s, thanks to the exploits of Umur, Aydın could have been considered the leader among the emirates, but the conquests of Orhan were beginning to tip the scales in his favor.

Like his father, Orhan profited from circumstances. Most decisive was the decline of Byzantium, weakened by civil wars (1320–1328 and 1341–1347), constant attacks from the west, and the loss of its rich lands in Ionia. He built for permanence, increasing his power as he captured the Bithynian cities one by one. Here he was very different from Aydın, where Umur was interested only in loot, as Menteşe apparently was with business. Geographically and politicly, Orhan was in the best position to expand since he faced an empire that grew weaker as he conquered its lands. Neither Aydın nor Menteşe was well situated for conquest, for they had to face the Italian states, the knights of Rhodes, and other Christian powers who could, when necessary, unite against them. Karesi would seem to have an advantage, controlling a long seacoast with the western Marmara, the Dardanelles, and the northeast Aegean, yet it played a minor role, perhaps because its rulers were divided, with the senior favoring Byzantium and the subordinate attacking it. Karesi provided mercenaries and unreliable alliances, it seems, generally on a small scale, but this emirate is very poorly known. Finally, Kastamonu controlled a large territory, most of it mountainous and difficult of access but astride major trade routes that led to the Black Sea. Its location, though, was too far out of the way to play a role in the events considered here.

Because Orhan was confronting the greatest of the infidel powers, he could no doubt attract other warriors or tribes, ghazis anxious to join the fight if not for the Faith, at least for loot. But so did all the others, as attested by their inscriptions and actions. Umur was qualified as ghazi and Aydın practiced jihad, but none of them achieved any great enduring success like the Ottomans whose domains constantly expanded as they incorporated the lands they took. They could administer an ever-growing state because they had the apparatus of high Islamic civilization with its sophisticated chancery, its eunuchs, and slaves. But that, too does not distinguish them from the rest, who were also part of a high Islamic tradition. Again, Ottoman determination and their providential location gave them the advantage. Also important was the fact of their efforts being directed against

a Christian power; they raided Muslimi to the east, but for a long time made no effort to conquer them. At least in theory, this should have made the Ottomans most appealing to adventurers and fighters eager to confront the infidel. But such decisions were probably made on material rather than ideological grounds. Here, too, the conquests which brought loot and increased revenue would have made the Ottoman state increasingly rich as its reputation presumably grew with its success. If any of the maritime emirates wanted to expand, they would have to fight fellow Muslims; the case of Kastamonu was similar.

Another factor probably contributed to Ottoman success. They maintained a consistent unity of rule, with only one supreme leader at a time.[14] In this, they differed from the other emirates where brothers or other close relatives shared power. Aydın was the most notable example, with four brothers ruling their own districts—and cooperating. But in Karesi two brothers followed very different policies, pro- and anti-Byzantine, which may have been a factor in their ultimate collapse. In any case, Osman and Orhan (and their immediate successors) ruled alone. APZ (cap. 29) reports that Orhan had a brother Alaeddin who, when Osman died, told Orhan that it was best to have a single ruler, and retired to a farm in the vicinity of Bursa.[15] This incident may be apocryphal, but Orhan had a better attested brother, Pazarlu, who commanded part of the Ottoman army under Orhan in the battle of Pelekanon (1329)—i.e., as a subordinate not an equal. Although Orhan had at least five brothers, he succeeded Osman without a colleague.[16]

Being in the right place at the right time doesn't sound like much of an explanation, not even when combined with an unusual determination to move forward, to conquer and to take over new lands, so that the wealth and power of the state increased as it conquered. A similar explanation could as well fit the rise of Rome. But in that case, ethnic questions arise, for it was not only Romans who did the conquering but former allies and enemies like Latins, Sabines, Etruscans, and others who were eventually absorbed into the body politic and became Romans. Ottoman success ultimately depended on manpower and here the theories that see Christians—whether converted or not—as part of the dynamic would have value, perhaps creating not a new blended society, but at least one where the locals could join in the common effort, usually through conversion or intermarriage.

So far, this discussion has looked outwards, toward Bithynia and Byzantium, but there may be lessons to be learned in looking inward, to the

powers that were for long far greater than the Ottoman. These are Germiyan and the Mongols—not the Seljuks who had effectively lost the reality, though not the appearance, of power by the time our narrative begins.

Relations with Germiyan have already been considered. The tradition minimizes this powerful state, presenting it as a troublesome neighbor, nothing more. In fact, it was the dominant beylik of western Anatolia, exercising control over Sasa bey, Aydın, and Menteşe, if not others. It is not possible, however, to gain any insight into its relations with the Ottomans in this period.

However powerful in reality, Germiyan could not be compared with the Mongols to whom it came to offer submission in 1316, and to whom it was paying tribute in the 1330s. The same document lists Orhan as a tribute payer, a fact that the tradition doesn't even hint at. In fact, the Mongols are almost completely absent from the Ottoman sources which only mention the Çavdar Tatars as disturbing the peace, and casually the Tatar Bayıncar as destroying an Anatolian city, Ereğli (APZ 6).[17] This absence is reflected in the modern accounts, from Gibbons for whom "the Mongols were never more than mere raiders in Asia Minor" (p. 37) to Lowry who doesn't mention them at all. Most of the others treat them in passing. They are central only for Togan and Lindner.[18]

Yet there are a few sources that show the presence of the Ilkhanids was overwhelming, beginning with the will of ibn Jaja which portrays a settled and prosperous region around Eskişehir flourishing under their rule in the 1260s and 1270s. That means that the Mongols were direct neighbors of Ertuğrul and Osman, who grew up on the doorstep of the descendants of Genghis Khan. In 1307, Osman was forcibly reminded of their power—if he needed reminding—when they defeated him and drove him back to the Homeland, abandoning most of his conquests. Coins of the emirates that issued them shortly after 1300 reflect a real or symbolic Ilkhanid superiority in Germiyan, Karesi, Kastamonu, Aydın, and the realm of Sasa. Even the first coins of Orhan are in an Ilkhanid style, though they bear Orhan's name alone. The expedition of Choban in 1316 received the submission of the emirs of the frontier and the tax treatise shows they (including Orhan) were tribute payers in the 1330s. There seems to have been a hierarchy in which Germiyan dominated the other emirates but was itself subordinate to the Ilkhan. The Mongols themselves rarely intervened in the western emirates, perhaps counting on Germiyan to ensure stability. It is probably not a coincidence that Orhan's greatest successes began after the Ilkhanids were embroiled in internal dissention, then collapse in 1335. Everything suggests

that the Mongols were a prime factor in the life of the growing Ottoman state and that future research should take them into account in a serious way.

To sum up, there is no one factor that can explain the rise and success of Osman and Orhan, but several that contributed.

Perhaps most importantly, they were in the right place at the right time: the Homeland was on the frontier of Byzantium and particularly the rich plains and cities of maritime Bithynia, in proximity to the capital. If Osman were to expand, he would necessarily move north against the infidel, for his southern and eastern flanks were blocked by the greater powers of Germiyan and the Ilkhans. The Homeland was a rough and relatively poor area, of no interest to other emirates which never made any effort to conquer it. Overcoming its natural disadvantages may have served as a stimulus to expansion. Its lack of a large population could have inclined Osman to seek allies (represented in the tradition by various semi-mythical figures) and make use of the local Christian population. He may have possessed some sort of charisma or leadership qualities that encouraged people to follow him.

These last points are pure speculation and don't explain Osman's dynamism after decades of Ertuğrul's inactivity. The sudden collapse of the Byzantine frontiers (cause unknown) around 1300 certainly provided an occasion for movement.

There are two ways in which Osman differed from his fellow emirs: he and Orhan ruled as individuals, not as part of a family sharing power; and he was no mere raider, campaigning for loot then returning home, but he annexed territory as he conquered it, thus growing stronger at every stage.

As for the right time, he appeared on the international scene at a moment when Byzantium was embroiled in a war with Venice, and generally faced an empire beset by hostile powers: the Italian and Greek states, Serbia, and Bulgaria were chronic ever-present enemies, some so close to home that they had to be fought or placated whatever the situation in Asia Minor. Conflict within the Church and frequent palace conspiracies didn't add to the security of Byzantium and further weakened its ability to defend its eastern frontiers.[19] Likewise, the potential enemies in Osman's rear—Germiyan and the Mongols also had other problems to face: Germiyan at war with the Sultanate when Osman's career was beginning and Ilkhanid Anatolia plagued by revolts when he was expanding. Orhan had even greater advantages—the Byzantine civil war and the collapse of the Ilkhanids in 1335—just as he was completing the conquest of Bithynia. His acquisition of the Bithynian cities vastly increased his wealth and power, laying the foundation for expansion into Europe and conquests beyond the scope of this work.

These are some factors worth considering, but they are not the whole picture. Such is the nature of our sources that the early years of Osman remain wrapped in obscurity. When the picture becomes clearer after 1302 it is possible to follow his relations with Byzantium, but not with his neighbors or Germiyan or the Mongols. Much remains unknown or unknowable, but I hope that this view of the Homeland may make its contribution toward seeing the rise of the Ottomans in a real context. Yet, as my teacher Sterling Dow was fond of saying, "there are more questions than answers in this business."

Notes

1. Imber 1993, 75.
2. Quoted and translated from APZ by Lindner 2007, 21.
3. See p. 122.
4. See p. 196.
5. See p. 113.
6. For the different types of nomadism, see Khazanov 1994, 19–25. The subject deserves more study than can be attempted here.
7. Pachymeres III.22 (1.293).
8. Cantacuzene II.591.
9. Alexander Pope, "An Essay on Criticism" part I, lines 9–10.
10. Lowry 2003, 000 and in considerable detail Kafadar 1999, 29–59; both provide full references and discuss several other theories that are not treated here.
11. Except by Kafadar 1999, 44f. The work is Togan 1970.
12. On this, see the clear exposition of Fletcher 1979/80.
13. See Lefort 1993, 106–9.
14. See the remarks of Kafadar 1999, 136, and also Fletcher 1979/80, 239, who explains the importance of tanistry, "the principle of succession that the most talented male member of the royal clan should inherit the throne."
15. Imber 1993, 68–71 considers Alaeddin to be entirely fictional.
16. See above p. 152.
17. See Tezcan 2013, who shows that the Tradition eliminated the Mongols, but that sufficient traces of a different version in the work of APZ indicate a belief that Turks and Mongols were the original settlers of Asia Minor, before the Seljuks.
18. Mme Beldiceanu recognizes their importance in her brief sketch of Anatolia in the thirteenth century: 2003, 355–62, especially 359.
19. See Nicol 1993, 107–40 for a clear account of Byzantium's troubles in these years.

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